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# ***JPRS Report***

# **Soviet Union**

## ***Political Affairs***

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# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

JPBS-UPA-88-028

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**ESSR People's Control Chairman Questions Need  
for 'Popular Front'**  
18000400 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA  
in Russian 15 May 88 p 7

[Interview with Gustav Tynspoyeg, candidate member of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, chairman of the ESSR People's Control Committee, by V. Akimov: "The Movement for Restructuring and People's Control"; date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] [Question] It is well known that the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Buro has discussed the question of the movement of the National Front for Restructuring and in principle takes a positive attitude to it. Now, as I understand it, the whole problem lies in determining in what form this movement can exist. What do you think with regard to this?

[Answer] The movement in support of restructuring must find its outlet in real life. But how? The initiators of the movement see it in the realization of "*the will of the people through the elected Soviet organs and the control of the public over the activity of all important organs and the state apparatus*"—that is how it is written in the declaration reflecting the platform and principles of the creation of the National Front. "*The basic directions and forms of the activity of the National Front are the organization of the cooperation of voters and deputies (meetings with deputies, inquiries, etc.), participation in election campaigns (nomination of candidates, composition of mandates, etc.), the presenting of memoranda and introduction of proposals in the Soviet organs, the public discussion of decrees and drafts, etc. The National Front takes an active part in the improvement of the election system, the reorganization of voters' clubs into permanently-operating public instances. The representatives of the National Front take part in the work of the election commissions.*"

It makes me happy that a discussion has begun about increasing the role and responsibility of the deputies. You see, this, in the end, can also activize the voters. And thus there will be a real opportunity, not only to criticize, but also to discuss on all levels how resources are used—material, national, human, i.e., everything that influences the attainment of a high final result.

Also fruitful is the thesis that "*the economic platform of the National Front is based on the transfer of the ESSR to full cost accounting*." Now more than 60 percent of the republic's enterprises are working in the conditions of full cost accounting and self-financing. And for this reason, the public, naturally, has an increasing concern that every enterprise develop in the direction which guarantees not only the improvement of the material and social conditions of its workers, but also promotes the observance of public interests. All these are comforting aspects. But the presented declaration also contains positions that require discussion. Here is a concrete point. It seems to me that it has a somewhat strange

character. "*The guiding functions of the National Front cannot be combined with the regular work in responsible posts in the party, Komsomol, trade union or state apparatus.*" Moreover, it is hardly necessary to dwell on such questions now. It is much more important, I believe, to define priorities.

First of all, it seems to me, it is necessary to formulate clearly: What, whom, and how will the new movement control? And, secondly, is it worthwhile to force an open door, to think up a new controlling authority if such a public formation as the People's Control already exists?

[Question] You believe that People's Control already today is prepared to fulfill all the functions which the National Front is taking upon itself? But, you see, this somehow does not link up very well with practice. Life shows that by far not always and by far not everywhere are the members of the People's Control people with high public activeness, and the People's Control groups are not always implacable fighters against stagnation, bureaucratism, and the administrative-command style of management. In many enterprises, the authority of the patrols is not so high.

[Answer] In many respects you are right. But only in part. During the period of stagnation, the People's Control really did not fulfill its functions, and there existed laws that were closed to control. At that time the opinion took shape that the People's Control is not controlling. Not accidentally, the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee adopted a decision to create an in essence new People's Control, having in mind the reduction of the number of controlling organs and the coordination of their actions. As of the beginning of the current year, an experiment approved by the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee is being conducted at 14 enterprises of the republic, whose goal it is to create a unified system of control, diminishing the number of controlling organizations at the level of the enterprises. We have combined the commissions of the primary party organizations for control of the activity of the administration (there were many of them—8-10 each in large enterprises), the commissions of the trade unions, and the Komsomol projector. What did this yield? There was a reduction of the number of people diverted for auditing work. In these 14 enterprises, there were 1,300 people. 450 of the most conscientious remained. In some of the kolkhozes, the auditing commissions also were included in the new control organs. Committees were created in 12 enterprises instead of people's control groups. It is significant that the councils of the labor collectives and the administration regarded it as necessary to release the chairmen of the committees from all other duties and to establish salaries for them from their wage fund. Here I see at least two important aspects. First of all, this is indicative of the increase in the authority of the People's Control. And, secondly, the situation reflects the irreversible democratization of society, where the People's Control is entrusted not only with the conduct of a search for reserves in the enterprise itself, but also with

guarding state interests. That is the realization, in actual fact, of the ideas which V. I. Lenin expressed when speaking about the People's Control.

Until recently, the People's Control was aimed at the punishment of the guilty. Now the approach is completely different. Our goal is to support good initiatives and undertakings on all levels. During the current year alone, the republic committee submitted to the Council of Ministers several proposals for the repeal of instructions and directives that do not correspond to the spirit of the time. We have also introduced a number of proposals in the USSR People's Control Committee concerning the revision of a number of legislative acts of the union level. We shall be frank: It is impossible to say for the time being that all enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes in our republic are interested in seeing to it that, for example, questions of ecology, as they are being posed by the party and the people, have been solved successfully. At times local interests are advanced to first place. Moreover, it is already now becoming clear that localism is migrating increasingly from the republic and rayon level to the level of the enterprises. And one can fight against this phenomenon only by strengthening the People's Control. This is an objective process.

The People's Control organs have everything necessary for successful work in the conditions of the democratization of society and the intensification of glasnost—rights, an apparatus, and organization. At the beginning of the year, all groups of the People's Control gave an account of their work during the past year before their labor collectives. There was quite a lot of criticism. A significant part of the aktif was replaced. At present there are approximately 60,000 patrol members in the republic. We believe that this is a lot. Let there be fewer of them in the course of the democratic movement for restructuring. But this will be the most active part of the workers. At the present time, part-time departments operate in the city and rayon committees of the People's Control. We appoint them. So let us repudiate that practice. There is sense in consulting ahead of time in the labor collectives concerning who can defend the interests of the state and the people, without fearing anything. Let people decide themselves who can be entrusted this or that sector of work. Such a step will only be for the benefit of the cause.

[Question] One of the points of the declaration reads: "The expression of Stalinist conservative points of view and the support of the administrative system of management are incompatible with activity in the National Front." In this connection, the following question arises: The People's Control today, both at the center and at the local level, has at its disposal a sufficiently powerful administrative apparatus. Does this not hinder it in the struggle for restructuring, do the good undertakings and initiatives of the patrol members not get bogged down in your offices?

[Answer] We have now approximately 150 staff workers in our offices in the republic. At the rayon level, as a rule, two each. The relations of the staff workers with the aktive are different than in the state organs. We do not command anyone. The inspectors of both the republic and rayon committees—these are the same people's inspectors who, besides direct participation in the audits, have another task—to extend systematic assistance to the groups, to help them organize audits, to teach them. It seems to me, many fears of that sort come from the ignorance of the specific character of our work. Or from the unwillingness to see the positive.

I believe that the time has come to talk openly about the concrete bearers of this very command-administrative style of management, to name people by name who resist restructuring.

To take if only the migration. Not long ago, the "discovery" was made all of a sudden: Migration prevents us from solving social problems and exacerbates what is in any event a difficult situation. This is similar to the discovery of America. For a dozen years, Gosplan raised this problem. What is more, I myself, working as the chairman of Gosplan, almost in every report spoke about the negative influence of migration on our life, and more than once proposed, instead of the importation of manpower, to be concerned about the growth of labor productivity. It is these same ideas which the People's Control Committee is realizing. And the journalists, who are always present at our sessions, also knew about this problem. But they did not come out with statements and were silent. Very well, people may object: At that time, information about the movement of manpower was not subject to publicity. I agree with this. But now the prohibitions have been removed. It seems that now it is not necessary to stand up for the creation of new laws limiting migration, but to be concerned that the public know about the true state of affairs in the industries and enterprises.

Here is another turn of the subject. Even if little, we nevertheless inform people that some important question for the republic has been decided positively in Moscow. But why not widely report what problems are not being resolved, due to whose fault.

[Question] From your words it turns out that a great deal of what the initiators of the National Front propose already exists. And the whole thing is merely to untwist the fly-wheel of popular initiative properly, to let the People's Control show itself?

[Answer] It is necessary to give the enterprises more rights, more independence, and more possibilities for work. But also to entrust them with greater responsibility. A mass of problems arise in connection with this. For example, if, in the implementation of a cardinal economic reform, we put the principle of wages on the basis of the quantity and quality of work in first place, then it is also necessary to secure the taking into account of

these indicators, their control. And this is in the hands of the People's Control organs. If we want to eliminate unearned incomes, if we want the person to see that it is impossible to receive more than he earned, or less, if our goal is to increase the interest of the individual in labor, then control is needed here. And, once again, I do not see any alternatives to the People's Control.

[Question] Thank you for the discussion.

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**Tajik CP, Council of Ministers Joint Resolutions on Tajik, Russian Languages**

**Broader Spheres of Tajik Language Use**  
18300277a Dushanbe KOMMUNIST  
TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 20 May 88 pp 1, 2

[First of two articles under single title: "At the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan and the TaSSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan and the TaSSR Council of Ministers have enacted the decree entitled "Measures to Improve the Study and Teaching of the Tajik Language in the Republic." The document states that during the years of the Soviet authority, thanks to the implementation of the Leninist national policy, the Tajik language received universal development and there was a unification of the norms of the Tajik literary language, which became the national language of Tajik social life. Under conditions of the revolutionary renovation of all spheres of social life, the rise in the national self-awareness and internationalization of social life, and the development of the republic's ties with contiguous countries, there has been a continuous expansion of the social functions of the Tajik language.

The Tajik language is one of the basic subjects of study in the republic's educational institutions. However, there have been serious shortcomings and omissions in its instructions in the schools and secondary special and higher educational institutions, as well as in the work of raising the level of speech proficiency among the population.

The level of development of spoken and written speech continues to be low not only among schoolchildren and young students, but also among a definite segment of school teachers, instructors at institutions of higher learning, and other categories of intellectuals.

Recently one has observed a striving toward the archaizing of the literary language and to the contamination of it with dialecticisms, and a free attitude toward the established norms of orthography and terminology. At the same time, the proper attention has not been given to the fact that the rich vocabulary and grammatical structure of the Tajik literary language require special training

and constant work to improve one's knowledge. One continues to observe a considerable difference between the colloquial language and the literary.

Many textbooks and teaching aids, methodological elaborations, and scientific recommendations in the area of the study and teaching of the Tajik language fail to meet the present-day high requirements, and the schools continue to be insufficiently provided with the entire set of auxiliary and methodological means or with graphic aids. For a number of instructional disciplines, there is a lack of the necessary instructional and methodological literature on the Tajik language.

An insufficient amount of attention has also been devoted to questions of improving the language of the press, the theater, belletristic literature in original form or in translation, the development of the scientific principles for the unification of sociopolitical and scientific-technical terminology, and the standardization of the orthography of the modern Tajik language. The work among the population to elevate and propagandize linguistic culture is not being carried out at the proper level, and incomplete use is being made for this purpose of the opportunity provided by the mass information media, the republic's Znaniye Society and the book lovers' society, or public statements in the Tajik language by representatives of the party, soviet, Komsomol, and other social organizations, scientists, or literary and artistic figures.

In the enacted decree, the Tajik CP Central Committee and the TaSSR Council of Ministers have required the party, soviet, trade-union, and Komsomol agencies and the TaSSR ministries and departments, while strictly observing the Leninist principle of the complete equality of languages, to provide the necessary conditions for expanding the social functions and increasing the prestige of the Tajik language in all spheres of the republic's life, and, when preparing documents, signs, slogans, announcements, diagrams, and other graphic means, to observe strictly the norms of the Tajik literary language.

Those agencies and organizations are required to make it a practice to conduct sociopolitical and cultural-ideological measures among multinational audiences in the Tajik language, while providing simultaneous interpretation in the Russian language. They are required to equip the appropriate auditoriums with the necessary technical means for simultaneous interpretation and to provide for the training of qualified interpreters.

TaSSR Ministry of Education, TaSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education, TaSSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, TaSSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, TaSSR Academy of Sciences, and TaSSR Gosplan have been instructed, for purposes of assuring the radical improvement of the instruction of the Tajik language:

—to reconsider and improve the curricula and teaching plans at secondary schools, to increase the number of hours devoted to the Tajik language, and to introduce instruction in the Tajik language through grade 11;

—to institute, starting with the 1989-1990 school year, the gradual division of grades 5-11 into subgroups when studying the Tajik language in Tajik schools and in schools (classes) with the Russian language of instruction, and also to set aside, in grades 5-11, an additional hour a week for studying the Tajik language in schools (classes) with the Russian language of instruction;

—to create in standard schools everywhere Tajik language and literature laboratories, to provide them with modern Linguaphone apparatus and other technical means of instruction, graphic aids, and instructional and methodological literature, and to take steps to assure their effective use in the instructional and educational process;

—to develop and carry out a long-range program of publishing and republishing instructional and methodological literature in the Tajik language in conformity with the present-day level of development of the Tajik literary language.

It has been recommended to the TaSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education that it:

—guarantee the free functioning of the principle of bilingualism in the instructional process in higher and secondary special educational institutions;

—introduce instruction, on an elective basis, of the Tajik language in all schools and departments of higher educational institutions in the republic and a short course in the history of Tajik literature in schools specializing in the humanities;

—assure the fundamental improvement of the training of teachers of the Tajik language and literature, and to intensify the practical applications in providing instruction in the Tajik language and literature for students at institutions of higher pedagogical learning.

The TaSSR Ministry of Education and TaSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education have been required to improve the situation with regard to the instruction of the Tajik language at all levels in the system of preschool and school education, and especially in the cities; to create, on the basis of the university and the pedagogical institutes, permanent evening and correspondent courses for persons desiring to improve their knowledge of the Tajik language; to improve radically the instruction of the Tajik language in schools with the Russian language of instruction and to intensify the work of raising the proficiency level of teachers, and of studying and broadly propagandizing the methodology of instruction and advanced pedagogical experience; and to

pay special attention to increasing the responsibility borne by the teachers, raising the level of certification and recertification of Tajik-language instructors;

—develop a program for providing instruction in the Tajik language for children of other nationalities starting at an early age in children's preschool institutions.

The TaSSR Ministry of Education, TaSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education, TaSSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, TaSSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, and TaSSR Gosplan have been instructed, taking into consideration the need to assure more time-responsive methodological assistance to teachers of the Tajik language and literature, to study opportunities and to submit to the Tajik CP Central Committee recommendations for publishing the magazine TADZHIKSKIY YAZYK I LITERATURA. The editorial offices of the GAZETAI MUALLIMON newspaper and the MAKTABI SOVETI magazine have been instructed to make more complete use of the opportunities for improving the propagandizing and study of the Tajik language.

The TaSSR Academy of Sciences, TaSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special education, and TaSSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade have been advised to begin creating a comparative grammar of the Tajik and Russian languages, to intensify the development of the scientific principles of terminology and orthography, and on that basis to create the appropriate dictionaries and aids, to extend linguistic and comparative-typological research of languages, to prepare a new edition of the rules of orthography for the modern Tajik language, and to organize their broad discussion.

It has been deemed desirable to create, under the TaSSR Academy of Sciences, a republic-level coordinating council for the Tajik language, consisting of representatives of scientific institutions, institutions of higher learning, and the literary and pedagogical public. This council has been given the responsibility of periodically discussing the questions of improving the cultivation of speech and of conducting conferences dealing with vitally important problems of the Tajik language and the practical aspects of its functioning in various spheres of social life.

The TaSSR Academy of Sciences, TaSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education, TaSSR Ministry of Education, TaSSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, and TaSSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, with the participation of the Union of Writers of Tajikistan, have been instructed, for purposes of creating the necessary conditions for persons desiring to study the Tajik language, to prepare and publish a

Tajik-Russian dictionary and a Russian-Tajik dictionary, a concise Tajik-Russian dictionary and Russian-Tajik dictionary, a dictionary of the most widely used phraseological units, an explanatory school dictionary, a reference book on the grammar of the Tajik language, a self-instruction guide for learning the Tajik language, a Tajik-Russian and Russian-Tajik conversational textbook, aids in stylistics and cultivated speech, as well as a special collection of fictional, popular-scientific, and instructional-pedagogical literature for persons with a poor knowledge of the Tajik language, providing these publications with explanations, dictionaries, the designation of the word stress, and other required teaching tools; to accelerate the publication of the explanatory dictionary of the modern Tajik literary language; to increase the role of the competitive commission for preparing for publication in 1988-1990 textbooks and teaching aids in the Tajik language and literature, the history of the Tajik nation, and scientific-methodological materials for instructors of the Tajik language and literature.

It has been recommended to the TaSSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting that it organize instructional television and radio broadcasts to teach the Tajik language; to TaSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education and TaSSR Ministry of Education that they create clubs and courses at people's club houses and their place of work for those persons who want to study the Tajik language. It has been recommended that the network of clubs for dramatic, literary, and artistic reading be expanded in schools and in Pioneer's homes.

TaSSR Ministry of Culture and TaSSR Ministry of Education, with the participation of the Union of Theatrical Workers of Tadzhikistan, have been instructed to take steps to improve the cultivation of speech among actors and masters of ceremonies; to provide all the theaters and philharmonic collectives with highly qualified literary colleagues; and, under the Tajik State Arts Institute imeni M. Tursunzade, to organize courses in the cultivation of speech and speaker skills.

The TaSSR Ministry of Trade and TaSSR Ministry of Consumer Services have been instructed to provide the production of sets of phonograph records and magnetic tapes containing lessons in the Tajik and Russian languages and containing colloquial speech, as well as the best examples of artistic reading.

TaSSR State Committee on Cinematography has been advised to take the necessary steps to improve the quality of translating the subtitles and dubbing of movies, film strips, training films, and animated cartoons into the Tajik language and to have broad showings of them in the republic's cities and rayons; and to make it a practice to produce Tadzhikfilm works in the original language.

Main editorial offices for instructional programs for teaching the Tajik and Russian languages, with a weekly broadcast volume, respectively, of two hours and 1.5 hours, have been introduced into the structure of the TaSSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting.

The TaSSR Gosplan and TaSSR Ministry of Finance have been instructed to consider the question of allocating a wage fund to maintain those editorial offices.

The TaSSR Gosplan and TaSSR Ministry of Finance, beginning in 1989, have been instructed to stipulate, in the annual plans for the economic and social development and in the republic's budget, the funds to purchase modern equipment for the Tajik language and literature laboratories at general-educational schools, higher pedagogical institutes, and teacher refresher-training institutes, Linguaphone laboratories, cassette tape-players, record players, codoscopes, film strips, radio and video apparatus, cassettes, and equipment for simultaneous interpretation.

The TaSSR Gosnab has been required to define the need for and to establish a production order for Tajik typewriters.

The TaSSR Ministry of Consumer Services has been instructed, with the participation of the interested ministries and departments, to consider the questions of organizing courses for Tajik typists and stenographers.

**Better Russian Teachers, Educational Materials**  
18300277b Dushanbe *KOMMUNIST*  
*TADZHIKISTANA* in Russian 20 May 88 pp 1, 2

[Second of two articles under single title: "At the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tadzhikistan and the TaSSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tadzhikistan and the TaSSR Council of Ministers have enacted the decree entitled "Measures for Further Improving the Study and Teaching of the Russian Language in the Republic," in which it is noted that, in the historic process of bringing the nations and nationalities of the USSR closer together, a great role is played by the Russian language, which has been voluntarily chosen by the peoples of our country as the language for communication among nationalities. National-Russian bilingualism is becoming the objective necessity and daily need of every citizen of our republic. The Russian language promotes the expansion and deepening of the mutual ties and friendship of our country's peoples, provides access to the achievements of scientific-technical progress and world civilization, and allows Tajik literature and art a way to reach the nationwide and international arenas.

In the republic the Russian language is taught in all educational institutions. However, many graduates of general-educational schools, vocational-technical schools, and other educational institutions have a poor knowledge of Russian. In individual regions of the republic, especially in rural localities, the study and teaching of Russian are still at a low level. The instructional process and methodology for the instruction of Russian have been improving slowly. The textbooks in Russian language and literature for the national schools require substantial improvement. The steps being taken to achieve the further development of bilingualism are being poorly reinforced by the work among the population, and the proper attention is not being devoted to increasing the role played by the family, the labor collectives, and the mass information media in the resolution of these questions.

In the general-educational schools, secondary special educational institutions, and vocational-technical schools there continues to be a shortage of pedagogical cadres in this specialty: out of 9139 teachers of Russian language and literature who are employed in national schools (classes), 949 are not specialists. Many graduates of schools of Russian language and literature at pedagogical schools in the republic (particularly the Kulyab branch of Dushanbe State Pedagogical Institute in the city of Kurgan-Tyube) do not receive the proper professional training, and have a poor knowledge of spoken and written speech or the methodology of instructing the subject. The process of providing refresher training for Russian-language teachers remains at a low level. Insufficient use is made of the practice of inviting from the RSFSR major linguistic scientists or specialists in literature in order to give special courses at the institutions of higher learning.

The weak training-materials base has been hampering the process of improving the study of Russian-language instruction. In the republic only 30 percent of the schools have Russian-language laboratories that are equipped with Linguaphone units, and almost all schools lack Russian-language laboratories for the primary grades.

The ispolkoms of the Dushanbe city and Leninabad, Kurgan-Tyube, and Kulyab oblast soviets of people's deputies and the soviet of people's deputies of Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast have not been fulfilling to the proper degree the assignments for construction and activation of school buildings and dormitories for the students at the teacher refresher-training institutes. An extremely critical situation prevails at the Tajik Pedagogical Institute of Russian Language and Literature imeni A. S. Pushkin with regard to providing the classes with auditorium equipment, and providing the students with a dormitory. TaSSR Gosplan, TaSSR Gosstroy, TaSSR Ministry of Construction, and TaSSR Ministry of Education have been displaying a slowness in resolving questions concerning the construction in Dushanbe of the set of buildings for a republic specialized boarding school with in-depth study of the Russian

language and the intensified military and physical training of the students. The party committees in the outlying areas have not been paying the proper attention to developing in the population a need to master Russian alongside of the native language.

In the enacted decree the Tajik CP Central Committee and TaSSR Council of Ministers required the oblast, city, and rayon committees of the Communist Party of Tajikistan, the ispolkoms of the oblast, city, and rayon soviets of people's deputies, TaSSR Ministry of Education, TaSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education, TaSSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Training, and the Central Committee of the Tajikistan Komsomol to take urgent steps to improve the study and instruction of the Russian language in the republic, and to strive persistently to achieve a situation in which fluency in Russian, alongside of fluency in the native language, becomes the norm for every graduate of the secondary and higher educational institution, to create all the necessary conditions for developing national-Russian bilingualism, and to organize clubs for persons desiring to study Russian at industrial enterprises, institutions, and organizations, and on kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

TaSSR Ministry of Education has been instructed to take all steps to increase the educational effectiveness and quality of the classes; to provide the gradual creation of Russian language and literature departments at all the standard national schools, and to equip them with Linguaphone apparatus and other modern technical means of instruction; to provide the systematic supplementing of the school libraries with the literature in Russian that is required by the students, as well as the scientific-pedagogical and methodological literature for Russian language and literature teachers; for purposes of developing and introducing into the instructional process the intensive instruction in languages, to make it a practice to conduct the joint work of the methodology associations of the teachers of the Tajik, Russian, Uzbek, and foreign languages.

They have been instructed to develop by the year 1990 a plan for expanding the network of schools with the in-depth instruction in Russian, as well as a curriculum for teaching Russian to children starting at an early age in children's preschool institutions, and to prepare the instructional and methodological literature that is required for these purposes.

TaSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education, TaSSR Ministry of Education, and TaSSR Academy of Sciences have been advised to carry out specific measures to achieve a fundamental improvement of the ideological-theoretical, scientific-pedagogical, and methodological training of Russian language and literature teachers, and to strive for a situation in which the instruction of all branches of linguistics and the level of knowledge of that subject among the students at the

institutions of higher pedagogical learning and the students at the pedagogical schools meet the present-day requirements of science; to intensify the practical orientation in teaching Russian to the students (schoolchildren) in the national departments, to devote special attention to developing spoken and written speech and to the methodological training of the future teachers; to increase considerably the exactingness toward educational institutions for the quality of instructing the practical course in Russian and the organization of pedagogical practice, and to involve innovative teachers more broadly in the work at institutions of higher pedagogical learning and pedagogical schools.

For purposes of rendering scientific-methodological aid in improving the study and instruction of Russian, it has been deemed desirable to assign to individual rural rayons in the republic the appropriate departments in the schools of Russian language and literature at the institutions of higher pedagogical learning, Tajik State University imeni V. I. Lenin, and the Russian Language and Literature Department of the Institute of Language and Literature imeni A. Rudaki, of TaSSR Academy of Sciences.

TaSSR Ministry of Education, TaSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education, and TaSSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education have been instructed to improve the system of providing refresher training to Russian language and literature teachers, to intensify the practical orientation in the retraining of cadres, and to consider within the established procedure the possibility of expanding the retraining of Russian language and literature teachers at the scientific-methodology centers in the RSFSR, the Ukraine, and Belorussia.

They have been instructed to improve the activity of the rayon and city methodology laboratories in guaranteeing the high level of the work performed by the school, group, and rayon methodology associations of the Russian language and literature teachers at the national schools (classes); and to create a system to study, summarize, and disseminate the advanced experience of the teachers and instructors in the republic's educational institutions.

TaSSR Gosplan, TaSSR Gossnab, and TaSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Education have been instructed to resolve the question of reinforcing the training-materials base of the Tajik Pedagogical Institute of Russian Language and Literature imeni A. S. Pushkin.

TaSSR Academy of Sciences, TaSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education, TaSSR State Commission for Vocational and Training Education, TaSSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, and TaSSR Ministry of Education have been advised to prepare and publish in 1989-1992 the following dictionaries, reference books, and aids:

"Teach Yourself Russian", "Guide for Russian-Language Refresher Training", "Do You Know Russian?", "Dictionary of Common Expressions", "Collection of Statements Made by Prominent Cultural and Literary Figures About the Russian Language", "Concise Reference Aid on Russian Grammar", and terminological and other bilingual dictionaries; a special collection of belletristic sociopolitical, popular-scientific, and educational literature for persons with a poor knowledge of Russian; and to provide these publications with explanatory glossaries, indications of word stress, and other auxiliary educational tools.

TaSSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade has been instructed to produce more books for children and teenagers that promote the mastery of Russian.

TaSSR Academy of Sciences, TaSSR Ministry of Education, and TaSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education have been advised to develop a comprehensive program for developing bilingualism in the republic, with a consideration of guaranteeing its harmonious functioning within the next few decades.

A republic-level interdepartmental coordination council has been organized on the basis of the Problem Council for the Functioning of the Russian Language, TaSSR Academy of Sciences. The coordination council has been given the responsibility of coordinating the scientific research on theoretical and practical questions of bilingualism and improving the study of Russian.

TaSSR State Committee on Television and Radio Broadcasting has been advised to improve the quality of the television and radio broadcasts dealing with the cultivation of speech and Russian language classes and to propagandize more dynamically the best models of Russian and world literature and art.

It has been recommended to the republic Znaniye Society and the Book Lovers Society and the republic's Union of Writers that they develop specific programs for propagandizing Russian as a means of communication among nationalities and of bringing people closer to the achievements of domestic and world science and culture.

TaSSR Ministry of Education, TaSSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, and TaSSR Gosplan have been instructed to study the possibilities of increasing the publication frequency of RUSSKIY YAZYK I LITERATURA V TADZHIKSKOY SHKOLE magazine, while preserving its volume, and of publishing a supplement to MAK-TABI SOVETI magazine, dealing with questions of studying the native language and bilingualism.

TaSSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade have been advised to take additional steps to accelerate the publication of textbooks and instructional and methodological literature for Russian language instruction and to improve their printing quality.

TaSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Education, with the participation of the Union of Writers of Tajikistan, has been instructed to consider and to resolve within the established procedure the question of creating at Tajik State University imeni V. I. Lenin specialized groups to train qualified translators of works in the Russian, Tajik, and other fraternal literatures of our country.

TaSSR Academy of Sciences, the Union of Writers of Tajikistan, and TaSSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade have been advised to raise to a new level the quality of the work of translating and publishing scientific-technical, sociopolitical, and belletristic literature.

A republic-level coordination council for the translation of scientific-technical, sociopolitical, instructional-pedagogical, and belletristic literature has been created under TaSSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, with the purpose of uniting the efforts of the specialists in those branches, of introducing into the system and carrying out the appropriate monitoring of the quality of their work, and of creating a bank of annotated translations of those types of literature that are recommended for translation into Tajik, as well as into Russian and the other languages of the peoples of the USSR.

TaSSR Gosplan and TaSSR Ministry of Finance have been instructed to resolve the question of the number of personnel billets in that council, the question of the wage fund and an honorarium fund for reviewing the literature that has been recommended for translations and for creating the annotated translations, and to allocate funds to purchase books, to reproduce the translations, and to pay the postage, office, and other necessary expenses.

TaSSR Gosplan and TaSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education, for purposes of concentrating the best professor and instructor forces and training-material means, have been directed to consider the question of the desirability of concentrating the training of Russian language and literature teachers for the national schools in the appropriate institutions of higher learning in the republic.

**Chimkent Oblast Party Aktiv Views Continuing Struggle Against Abuses**  
*18300254a Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA*  
*in Russian 6 Apr 88 p 3*

[KazTAG special correspondents' report on proceedings at 2 April 1988 Chimkent Oblast party aktiv meeting]

[Excerpts] Chimkent—Chimkent Oblast is having to tackle difficult tests. Following a heavy thaw last spring, many mountain streams swelled up and destroyed many residential apartments and animal husbandry premises and washed away sown areas. The consequences of this disaster had not been eliminated before a new blow from the elements struck: a few weeks back a hurricane swept through, bringing down hundreds of high-voltage power line poles, destroying tens of kilometers of supply lines and damaging certain buildings. The consequences of such surprises of nature are calculable. The losses from the last disaster alone amounted to millions of rubles.

But the consequences of another element which swelled up in the oblast many years ago and which has not abated even today do not lend themselves to any calculation. It has destroyed not only the economy of South Kazakhstan but also people's minds and hearts, belief in honesty and social justice. The name of this force born of dishonest people is favoritism.

Decisive steps have been taken in combating it. Criminal proceedings were instituted against the guilty parties—former Obkom Secretary A. Askarov, former raykom first secretaries L. Bekzhanov, U.A. Arginbekov, A.M. Mustafayev, O. Kulbayev and a number of other party, soviet and management executives. It was established that they had involved in criminal activity over 4,000 persons, with whose participation R25 million were embezzled and obtained in the form of bribes.

It has for fairness' sake to be said plainly that only the "pillars" have been brought down and that the roots of the evil remain in a nutrient medium and are giving forth new shoots of favoritism. The number of crimes of office and property offenses in 1987 grew in the oblast 8 percent. Breaches of legality moved deep down away from the glare of glasnost and acquired more subtle forms. How to expose these roots? What resources are necessary for this and how should forces be concentrated for total victory? It was with these questions that communists attended a meeting of the oblast party organization aktiv held last Saturday.

#### Discussion on the Eve of the Meeting

[Question] Kasym Khazhibayevich, did you, setting out for your work in Chimkent, have any idea of the entire complexity of the local situation? This was the start of a discussion between KazTAG correspondents and Obkom First Secretary K.Kh. Tyulebekov on the eve of the aktiv meeting.

[Answer] Frankly speaking, no. Reading in the press about the negative goings-on here, I thought that you journalists were overdoing it and laying it on a bit too thick. However, I understood after just the first few days' work that everything here was far more complex. I could not rid myself of the thought that the former leadership had to have known of such scandalous facts—Chimkent Oblast "rivals" the most backward African countries in infant mortality; the shepherds live, like 70 years ago, in nomad yurts.... Then the coin dropped—it not only knew about but by its actions had compounded the state of affairs. After all, it had come to a matter of us importing into Chimkent, the abundant south, potatoes from Belorussia, and sauerkraut from Poland!

[Question] What was, in your opinion, the atmosphere in the oblast party organization like and what is it like now?

[Answer] It was complex and it has not now changed all that much for the better. We will be remembering the Askarov business and its current manifestations for a long time to come. I would like to stress one thing here: many oblast executives had no desire to adopt radical measures to improve the party organization. And for this reason the malignant tumor of favoritism produced increasingly new metastases.

#### Accurate Diagnosis Needed

At the start of our report the obkom first secretary observed that the reports of the party authorities on the leadership of perestroika had been an important event in the life of the oblast. They showed convincingly that the mass of communists has no wish to become reconciled to irresponsibility and emphatically supports the eradication of the ailments of the past. However, this work is being performed as yet without the due decisiveness and consistency. Many party organizations, party committees and the obkom buro as yet lack initiative, aggressiveness and intolerance of shortcomings. Thus the obkom plenum held this January on the buro's report on perestroika failed to reveal the causes of the current situation, to name those responsible for serious lacunae in party-organizational and ideological activity and to direct the aktiv toward the purging of the personnel of persons showing favoritism and careerists.

The position of indulgent tolerance and appeasement has undermined the authority of the obkom and its buro, prompted the local party authorities to expediency and given rise to people's lack of confidence in the possibility of order being brought to bear. It is by no means an incidental fact that not one party committee has for a year analyzed and discussed this problem and embarked upon an uncompromising struggle against favoritism and economic crime.

A sociological survey conducted in the oblast recently showed that some people consider the work on eradicating negative phenomena ineffective. So said the obkom first secretary. But the figures say something else—not

some but the absolute majority—97.9 percent of those polled! And some people are afraid of being candid with respect to similar instances which are known to them. And this is not laying it on thick. The deformation of the mentality of some communists is a consequence of the favoritism. This is confirmed by the following scandalous instance. Quite recently a collection was taken up at the initiative of certain communists of the lead plant to assist R.Zh. Khobdabergenov, former director of this enterprise, who had been convicted of figure padding and embezzlement. Approximately R2,500 were collected in a matter of days, whereas neither the Peace Fund nor the Children's Fund received anything from this outfit throughout the first quarter.

It is clear today that the growth of negative trends was brought about largely by the neglect of personnel work. For many years there was an intensification of administrative-pressure methods of leadership, and an increasingly large number of specialists became bogged down in the routine practice of phrase-mongering and beating the air and forfeited invigorating contacts with the workforce and boldness and scrupulousness. Sluggishness of action and thought grew and obsequiousness and toadying thrived and were encouraged in this oppressive atmosphere. Deciding most important issues privately became natural. A tendency to speak only about successes and in passing, as it were, about individual oversights, for which, incidentally, no one was held accountable, was manifested to give the appearance of preservation of executives' authority.

The former "ruler" of the oblast (you could not call A. Askarov anything else) picked for his entourage those who stopped short at no methods and means, punished the disobedient to please him and encouraged flatterers. It was for these considerations that L. Bekzhanov, for example, who had organized a comprehensive extortion system, was made first secretary of the Chardarinskiy Raykom. Cash and savings certificates amounting to more than R1.3 million, 59 men's and ladies' coats, 48 suits, 132 pairs of shoes and approximately 600 meters of cloth were confiscated at the time of his arrest.

To a certain extent the flourishing of oblast and rayon princelings became possible because philosophical omnivorousness, formalism and show were substituting for ideological work.

The erosion penetrated ever deeper. And there came to be ideological workers who made it their goal to extol the "sunny faces" of the local leaders. Zh. Mukhanov, who is now editor of the Chardarinskiy Rayon newspaper, dedicated many "poetical" lines to L. Bekzhanov, former first secretary of the raykom. Here are some translated from the Kazakh: "How many achievements! Oh Lord! Do not take them away from us! Asanbay Askarov had so many kind words to say about Chardara.... All this is your doing, Leke! The omnipotent thinker, the commander Leke will lead us to new achievements."

It was observed at the aktiv meeting that it is necessary to promote executives who are not dependent on their "benefactors". Otherwise they will be unable to combat a variety of abuses. It must be the rule that those who have failed to justify hopes and have been dismissed for negative reasons be used only in ordinary work. It is necessary to employ more extensively such forms of personnel evaluation as the expression of no confidence and early recall from an elective body. We need to be particularly thorough in strengthening the positions of principle of each party organization and each communist and prevent the slightest indulgence in respect of those flouting the rules of morality and law and the requirements of the CPSU Rules.

Correctly said. But does it jibe with current practice in the oblast? Not always, unfortunately.

#### From Meetings With the Participants

"I shall not forget one press conference in the obkom," Yu.V. Kungurtsev, editor of the oblast newspaper YUZHNYY KAZAKHSTAN, told us. "It was the time of the 'cotton' trials, and indictments for figure padding and bribe-taking had been brought against dozens of persons.

"Our newspaper published a number of forensic articles. U. Suleymenov, former obkom secretary for agriculture, had been named as being among the organizers of the figure padding. So at the time of this press conference Suleymenov, like the majority of his colleagues—executives of oblast departments and offices (he was at that time head of the Farm Product Purchase and Quality Inspectorate)—was in the hall. He who had been 'insulted' by the newspaper was spotted by the chairman and publicly invited to take his place in the presidium. In the hall, which resounded with silence, it was immediately understood what was happening, and the organizer of large-scale figure padding solemnly mounted the stage."

The following example was adduced at the meeting. On 13 February this year the oblast Agro-Industrial Committee Party buro adopted a high-minded decision: to dismiss Satkambayev, secretary of the party organization, from office for having obtained housing by fraud and other offenses and to issue him a strict reprimand to be entered on his record. But the party meeting confined itself merely to discussion. And V.L. Tokarev, secretary of the Dzerzhinskiy Raykom, and V.M. Zakirov, head of a department of this raykom, who were in attendance, assumed the posture of detached observers.

Unfortunately, many party leaders are not ready without speeches prepared in advance to struggle against distortions of the party line and against the half-baked position, convenient for some people, of it's your funeral....

In setting about perestroika many party officials of the oblast do not always adeptly and accurately orient themselves "by the terrain" and fail to seek new approaches to the accomplishment of complex tasks. Whence also the darting to and fro and the lapsing from one extreme to another. How else, for example, to explain the "line" of the obkom Propaganda and Agitation Department, which at first did not welcome the critical articles of oblast newspapers, but recently demanded of them plans... for the illustration of negative phenomena. Truly, a case of since there's no good news, let's enjoy bad news!

A principal cause of favoritism is the decline in the militancy and scrupulousness of the majority of primary party organizations. Why has this happened? A softened, frequently with a manifest mercenary intent, approach to admittance to the party had taken shape in the oblast in recent years. In fact access to it was accorded all who submitted applications and had the corresponding support of some highly placed persons. The intrinsic orientation toward stringency was lost. People had begun to grow out of the habit of such questions as: do you deserve to be in the vanguard of the struggle for communist ideals, how does a person treat another person, is he honest. There has been a decline in responsibility for who is admitted to the party and for the party as a whole. For this reason many chance people have become members of the CPSU.

Another cause is the fact of the law enforcement authorities having been struck by metastases of favoritism. It reached the point of police "cooperation" with the criminals. For example, Akmurzayev, chief of the Charadarinskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, regularly received from farm executives bribes for protecting them against criminal proceedings being instituted against them for economic crimes. He involved in the extortion his subordinates, who undertook the surveillance and blackmail of persons not to his liking.

The speakers said with great concern that indifference and callousness toward people and breaches of socialist legality were still alive in the internal affairs authorities. Criminal proceedings are still often instituted without justification or, on the contrary, are not instituted against those against whom they should be. They are also discontinued for dubious reasons. Investigation material becomes enmeshed in red tape in the courts, and much of it is repeatedly returned for correction. Judicial remedy for the citizens is exercised inadequately. Nor have the prosecutor's office authorities held firmly to positions of principle. Compared with 1986 crime has increased 2.6 percent, and there has been a more than 2.5-fold increase in the number of recidivist crimes and persons committing offenses in a state of intoxication.

The party principles of leadership of the law enforcement authorities are being restored with insufficient efficiency. True, the report noted that the former leaders of the oblast's law enforcement authorities had been

replaced, that more than 50 employees guilty of offenses had been punished and that approximately 100 had been dismissed from the internal affairs authorities. But there were no attempts at the meeting to uncover the causes of this grim situation and formulate a systemic approach to a solution of the problem.

### The Economy and Morality

Stagnation phenomena in the oblast have been reflected severely in all sectors of the economy. There has been a significant decline in the 11th and 12th five-year plans in the average annual rate of increase in industrial output, and unsatisfactory use has been made of production capacity. The increase in wages has outpaced productivity growth, and the plans for a reduction in prime costs have not been fulfilled.

There has been a shortfall in the assimilation of capital investments of over R340 million in this period. The on-schedule commissioning of industrial enterprises has been thwarted, and the shortfall in the supply to the population has been 70,000 square meters of housing and preschool establishments for more than 2,000 children.

Corruption has enveloped many categories of workpeople. Thus as of 1979 the criminal practice of intentional fraud has taken root on a number of cotton-sowing farms and at processing enterprises. For example, in the Kazzagotkhlopkoprom system headed by former chief Ye. Tasanbayev figure padding was concealed by way of overstating the waste norms. Whereas in the period 1971-1978 they constituted 6.3 percent, in subsequent years, far more. Consequently, in 6 years 138,000 tons of raw cotton were written off to a total amount of R50 million. Wages, bonuses and awards for the nonexistent cotton were received by both the immediate perpetrators of the big swindle and those who inspired them.

Approximately 100 persons are now under criminal indictment on "cotton" business charges, and the investigation continues. True, those who did things at another's bidding—persons who were involved in criminal activity, but who have voluntarily reimbursed the losses for which they were responsible—have been exempted from criminal punishment. Last year they returned to the state approximately R1 million.

But what is needed is a set of additional measures connected with the extensive use of levers of party, economic and legal influence. New approaches and a more sensitive attitude toward urgent problems on the part of each party committee and each executive are necessary. But it is precisely such that is lacking in the oblast. It is no accident that an unhealthy atmosphere continues here even now in a number of sectors of the economy. More than 656 cases of embezzlement of state property, including more than 100 on a grand scale, and

over 90 cases of bribery and figure padding were uncovered last year. In addition, approximately 1,900 instances of petty theft were recorded. There were more pilferers than a year ago, what is more.

### The 'Change Chairs' Law

The following fact was adduced at the meeting. A. Osmanov, head of reception of the oblispolkom, has essentially become the head of a family of executives. His son, G. Osmanov, is the head of a department of the Dzerzhinskiy Raykom; his son-in-law, P. Kunanbayev, is deputy chief of an obkom department; the son-in-law's brother, Zh. Kunanbayev, is a gorkom instructor; and daughter-in-law N. Bozheva is deputy chairman of the Enbekshinskiy Rayispolkom. And three of them, moreover—P. Kunanbayev, G. Osmanov and Zh. Kunanbayev—from February 1982 through October 1987, as if by inheritance, passed on to one another the same position of Chimkent Gorkom instructor.

The hiring of personnel per kinship connections has assumed extensive proportions in educational institutions. In the Chemical-Technology Institute 75 lecturers are related, in the Pedagogical Institute, 14, and in the Music School, 43. And it stands to reason that this has led to mutual patronage, abuses, bribery and the insinuation into the educational institutions of ignoramuses and idlers.

In a former branch of the Alma-Ata National Economy Institute employees of the oblast prosecutor's office uncovered a well-concealed system of favoritism at the time of VUZ enrollment. It was frequently accompanied by the compilation of fictitious papers, forgeries and even the admittance as students of persons with a 5th-6th-grade standard of education. Some 86 such students were discovered altogether. Twenty-nine of them were dismissed, the remainder coolly transferred to the head institute inasmuch as the Chimkent branch was closed. And of those who had been enrolled in the VUZ illegally, it was mainly those whose parents do not hold executive office who were dismissed, what is more. But the sons and daughters of influential parents continue as students illegally.

Nor has the useless practice of the transfer of people who have compromised themselves from one position to another disappeared here. Several dozen executives dismissed for negative reasons have been entered on the party committee schedule in the past 2 years. Some 48 of them have been appointed to other executive positions, and 6 to higher positions even. Thus B. Abibulayev, dismissed director of the Chimkent Gorkomtorg, has been confirmed as deputy chairman of the oblast potrebsoyuz. Following his dismissal for negligence, the chiefs of the "Mirgalimsaysvinetsstroy" Engineering Trust Administration elevated K. Zhalimbetov to deputy manager of the same trust. A. Kumarbekov, who had made a

mess of his job as chief of the oblast trade administration, has been appointed deputy director of the "Kazkhoztor" wholesale depot. And this list could be continued for quite some time.

### Why There Was No Discussion

S.Zh. Barakhova, second secretary of the Chimkent Gorkom, T. Duabekov, chief of the Internal Affairs Administration, and R.G. Andreyeva, senior sales assistant of the Chimkent Gorpishchetorg, delivered at the meeting unruffled accounts of themselves and solemn calls for an end to lax management and increased responsibility. And representatives of industrial enterprises told us by what percentage they intended increasing productivity, and of the agro-industrial complex, of their intention to increase the surrender of farm products....

At times it seemed to us that we were in the past decade, at a routine managers' conference. Nor were veiled appeals for a return to the past lacking. Thus V.I. Kondratenko, secretary of the Kazakh Chemical-Technology Institute Party Committee, complained that throughout the past year the VUZ had been inspected by numerous commissions, including those from the USSR Prosecutor's Office and People's Control Committee. These inspections, he said, took up people's time and unsettled them. Is it not time to have done with them? No, it is not. It is necessary to "unsettle" and stir from the long hibernation the lecturers of the institute, whose students, as these inspections showed, cannot tackle tasks... on the syllabus of the 5th grade!

No, there was no wide-ranging discussion at the meeting. And could it have been lively, emotional and candid if the speeches were checked in the party committees?

### From Meetings With the Participants

We called on T.Ye. Kenzhaliyev, manager of the "Chimkentstroy" Trust, while he was on the telephone. He put down the receiver and addressed us:

"The Enbekshinskiy Raykom plant party organizer has reminded me that I have to show him my speech. I am entrusted with managing 2,500 persons, but I am not trusted to speak off my own bat, without prompting and all kinds of coordination there. And this mistrust is manifested in everything, what is more. For example, a chief of one of our administrations had to be appointed. A telephone call from the raykom: hold elections. We did. Only the workforce elected a cozy and, to put it mildly, not entirely scrupulous person. We, of course, could not agree with this decision and appointed a competent, promising young man. And the work swiftly improved. Ergo, not every outfit is as yet capable of handling correctly the rights it has been accorded."

A sharply discordant note was sounded by one speech—of S.K. Belgibayev, first secretary of Chimkent's Abayskiy Raykom. Seit Kuandykovich said, breaking off from the text of the speech lying in front of him—he had not, evidently, had time to insert this thought:

"I have heard 14 speeches. And have not gleaned one iota of use from any. Neither have others, I am sure: there was nothing to glean. Everyone boldly criticized Askarov, Bekzhanov and their ilk. But for some reason nobody analyzed their current 'legacy'. Affirmation of facts and general appeals, but where is the constructiveness of thought of the communist?"

The speech of Belgibayev himself, incidentally, was constructive. He offered for the attention of those assembled a system of the selection and electivity of executives elaborated in the rayon. It practically precludes, as experience has shown, the promotion of candidates not conforming to the office in terms of professional and personal qualities and is based on the ascertainment in the workforce of nonformal, worthy leaders.

But the most serious reason, probably, for the unsuccessful discussion at the aktiv meeting was the hasty, ill-conceived preparation for it. Yet the obkom has good experience of the organization of important activities. On the eve of local soviet sessions and party committee plenums the press publishes their agendas and numerous letters from the working people, which are then analyzed and become the subject of thorough discussion. Why could it not have been like this in this case?

It is clear from the "coiffured" speeches that the old approaches, cliches and a fear of a sharp clash of opinions had done their work. The aktiv's agenda was, it is difficult to choose another word, anxious. But, judging by everything, the obkom officials themselves had an insufficient grasp of the importance of the problem submitted for the communist's judgment. We heard no impassioned speeches really concerned at the state of affairs in the oblast.

The resistance of the opponents of renovation has been growing in Chimkent Oblast recently. And perestroyka has regressed even in places. The so-called "little hotel" with a sauna, swimming pool and other accessories of "smart living" in Bugunskiy Rayon was transferred by order of the oblispolkom to High School imeni Amangeldy as a work and recreation camp. However, the camp has not been opened. It is significant that the custodian of the "refuge" for the select is the brother-in-law of A. Nurmukhanbetov, first secretary of the Bugunskiy Raykom.

The severed links of mutual patronage are being joined once again at the motor transport enterprises. A number of their executives has been arrested and convicted, but the bribery system which they organized continues to operate. Checks show that many drivers are even now involved in extortion, although they are not now being

forced into this. Some of them have their own reasons for being pleased at the arrest of their chiefs: earlier, they say, they had to go shares with them, but now all proceeds "on the side" they pocket themselves. For this reason, incidentally, the treasury is experiencing a shortfall in receipts of tens and even hundreds of thousands of rubles. Strong resistance is being met by prosecutor's office actions concerning the eviction from illegally occupied apartments of executives who obtained housing via favoritism. Courts of the oblast and the republic Supreme Court have since December 1986 been examining an action brought to evict V.M. Aliyev, former chief physician of the oblast hospital, and of B. Dzhumaliyeva, chief physician of the city's Psychiatric Clinic, since August 1987. F. Baymatov, director of the "Soyuzgiproris" Institute, also simply cannot part with his illegal apartment. When, however, it is a question of the eviction of rank and file citizens, the questions are settled instantly.

#### Conversation After the Meeting

[Question] Kasym Khazhibayevich, we asked you on the eve of....

[Answer] Yes, I understand your question. I expected, for all that, I do not conceal the fact, that the discussion would be more profound and that there would be more food for thought. How may the inertness of some party

committee secretaries be explained? There is just one answer—the obkom has been unable to put the wind up them. However, the process of the rethinking of negative facts and phenomena goes forward, nonetheless, and, consequently, there will be changes.

[Question] Some action program and concept is needed, evidently, to combat such a "comprehensive" evil as favoritism?

[Answer] We are drawing up such a program....

Returning again and again in one's thoughts to the discussion at the meeting, one understands full well: it is the easiest thing today to criticize the former leadership of the oblast and the period of stagnation. But, after all, the oblast aktiv, all of us, were not born this morning, we have all come from yesterday. And the answers to questions evidently need to be sought primarily in ourselves, our personal position and our personal attitude toward the struggle against favoritism, bribery, embezzlement and figure padding.

In the fight against the many-sided evil there is no, nor can there be, a peaceful issue. One thing is clear: in this difficult situation life tests people's moral fortitude. Honest people can and must win the day.

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**Georgians Continue Discussion of 'Andreyeva Letter,' Gorbachev Reforms**  
18300266 *Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA* in Russian  
24 Apr 88 p 2

[Letters to the Editor under the "Candid Conversation" rubric: "A Blow to the Enemies of Perestroyka"]

[Text] "A blow to the enemies of perestroyka," is how readers of our paper perceived the PRAVDA editorial, "The Principles of Perestroyka: a Revolutionary Way of Thinking and Acting" in their letters. Letters commenting on this publication began to pour in to ZARYA VOSTOKA after the PRAVDA editorial was republished. Today we continue publication of the letters.

**Learning Glasnost**

To be perfectly honest, I probably would not have read the sensational article in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA if it were not for the attention which our press focused on it. And this, undoubtedly, can be explained by the fact that every publication has a certain readership. But there are newspapers that are read by everyone; that, of course, means PRAVDA, which each of us opens in order to find out how the country is getting along, and to find out the whole Truth about the present. I do not spell the word "Truth" with a capital letter for nothing. The Truth is the truth and should always be the whole truth; it should be objective; and it should be honest, holding nothing back and embellishing nothing, without making a hasty detour around impartial facts.

And you see, it is precisely from such positions that a certain category of our countrymen approaches the phenomenon of Stalin and the personality cult which he engendered. And the narrow nationalistic reality of such an attitude is well-known: Stalin was a Georgian; therefore, we Georgians must not discredit him. This is the internal opposition which I often sense when the subject turns to many punctilious problems, to the tragic moments of our history, and above all to 1937. And one can still hear people say that "Stalin was hard and cruel; but on the other hand, under him we had order."

All right, then let us deal with the facts, finally, and directly: Just what it was like, this order under Stalin? What did it bring us? It brought us, strictly speaking, to what we have today.

Now we are starting to learn glasnost and democracy anew. Having removed our rose-colored glasses, we are starting to look around. And what we see is not at all what had been reported over the course of the decades. And it is only now, after we have rid ourselves of the inertia of "Rush on, taking the bit between your teeth," that we have finally paused to think about where on earth we are going anyway.

I am a tea-grower and for me it is easiest to cite examples from my own sector. And it is with pain and sorrow that I must admit that today, Georgian tea has given up all the positions it had won over the decades. We ran on and on, chasing that notorious gross output, and as a result we have reaped piles of unsuitable products. And we have worn out our plantations through our barbaric treatment of them. And this was done under some kind of mass hypnosis. After all, we could have taken a pencil and calculated how much land in our little Georgia had been allotted for tea plantations, and how much tea one could harvest under conditions of strict observance of agro-technical rules. But that was not done! Every year we reported about "increasing" the tempo, which in practice boiled down to stripping the tea bushes, right down to the roots. And the reports were sent up the line.

And the other branches of the national economy? I personally know people who have received writs of authorization for new apartments in a building for which the foundation had not even been laid. But you see they had already managed to report about putting this building into operation. And, without a doubt, bonuses were received. We tea growers too received bonuses for shock work, year after year, from five-year plan to five-year plan. As for me, it would have been better if there had been no bonuses at all. Because, in encouraging people to perform unnecessary work, we are not only programming them for the inevitable defective products; we are also undermining their faith in the cause which they serve, through which they earn their daily bread. It's blasphemous—that's all you can call such a policy.

I am not opposed to defending one's own principles. I am opposed to unprincipled adherence to principle. And you see, in my opinion the author of the article in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA has confused these two concepts. One need not defend Stalin just because he was the second person to lead the Soviet state; but one ought to make a principled analysis of that disgraceful phenomenon, the personality cult. And this should be done today in order not to permit repeating the mistakes of the past: a past which was not a basis for progress, but a millstone around our necks.

Dzhulietta Bakuradze, worker on the Abkhaziya State Tea Plantation, Ochamchirskiy Rayon

**There Are Not and Cannot Be Two Truths**

In a brief article one cannot do justice to Andreyeva's article. Conveniently and ostentatiously presented in an entire newspaper column, the article requires that one dispute it on the same scale. You see, one has to respond to every phrase; one has to counter the author's positions with the positions which one wishes to present in refutation. And that is why I am forced to limit myself to only those questions which are in the realm of my professional and human perceptions on life—which have a direct relationship with the fate of the people, and with a person's choice of his place on the Earth.

N. Andreyeva chose her place in a very determined manner and stated this fact in her article. I noticed right away that the author of the article is a master of the pen, which is somewhat incongruent with her profession as a chemist. To be honest about it, I entertained the thought that perhaps some historian or literary figure had helped her write the article. The persistent thought arose not because the author writes in a professional style, but because everything is all too well constructed, with meticulous economy and the ability to juggle concepts and phrases, adroitly shaping and reshaping them, such that by virtue of the strength of their essentially demagogic nature, they could easily mislead an unenlightened or credulous reader.

Let's be specific. The author starts her article with a dissertation on perestroyka and glasnost. The article then speaks of our young people, for whom the author is anxious; she wants to help them "find the truth, and arrive at the correct understanding of the problems of the society in which they live and which they are faced with restructuring," and she is pondering "how to define for them a true conception of our ancient and recent history." But all of these eloquent words, as it turns out on closer examination, are merely attempts to conceal her own true position, which is incapable of helping the young people find that very Truth—on the contrary, it disorients them in their quest for guideposts for their lives.

As for examples, there are many: Let's begin with the author's attempt to summarize the words of Hero of the Soviet Union V.F. Molozov at a meeting with students who asked him a question about political repressions. "I did not encounter repressions," is how Andreyeva phrases the Hero's response. Praise God, as they say, that one of the few people on earth was found, who avoided the fate of millions! But the matter does not lie with the Hero, but with the conclusion at which the author of the article arrives: "Certain people (presumably, the young people—E.G.) were disappointed with the answer. **The topic of repressions having been blown out of proportion** (emphasis mine—E.G), an objective interpretation of the past was obscured for the students."

You read this and marvel: was this written recently, or 40 years ago? And what does she have in mind by "blown out of proportion"? Does the author really believe that anyone capable of rational thought could be indifferent to such a topic?

Unable to shake off the state of shock, you read the further declarations of the author. It turns out that she is unable to accept much of that which is taking place. You ask, what exactly? The author clarifies: The flow of words about "terrorism," "the political servility of the people," "uninspired social vegetation," "our spiritual slavery," "universal fear," and "the sway of those louts who were in power," brings her to conclude that it is precisely because of this that "nihilistic tendencies and ideological confusion are on the increase among some of

the students," etc. You can't count them all! And further on it becomes clear that the author does not accept the fantastic stories, cheap gossip, or political anecdotes—which, as she says, "one encounters today." And where, as you might suppose? Well, in those sensational articles, in films, and plays...

You must read the author's well-constructed arguments very carefully. How cleverly and how truly skillfully she blends completely different concepts here. Terrorism and spiritual slavery, which are unacceptable to the people, are "placed on the same level" with anecdotes, and universal terror with gossip; and all of this is "combined" in "sensational" articles, films and plays. Does it not seem to the reader that the author's irony is not only inappropriate, it is also symptomatic? It smacks of that very same demagogic, and the desire to play on the emotions of the people, and especially the young people. And what's more, to cloud their minds. What else besides obscurantism can the attempt to distort the facts, and history, too, if you will, be? Andreyeva laments about the former "personal humility, extending to asceticism, not being ashamed that potential Soviet millionaires still had misgivings about getting stuck in somnolent, unimportant offices or trade bases..."; moreover, we were not such good businessmen and pragmatists, and trained our young people not in the fine points of making use of the goods earned by our relatives, but for "Labor and Defense" and so on.

It would seem that one can find no fault anywhere! It's only that the author does not pose the question, neither to herself nor to her readers: But what then led to these distortions, as it turned out, that many things in the people's consciousness, in our lives, turned out for the worst? The best part of the party was shot, people's minds were ruined, and brother informed on brother, son on father. A person lost his humanity, his worth, his conscience, his honor. The fear, the terrorism and the spiritual slavery of which Andreyeva writes ironically today were far more terrible than may appear to the enemies of "the flow of words." This was personal pain, the nation's pain; and you, Comrade Andreyeva, cannot understand the tragic nature of the process itself. You, after all, write with indignation, that "Matters went so far that they began to persistently demand 'repentance' from the Stalinists (and if one desired, one could number anyone at all among them)... They hastened to shower praise upon novels and films, wherein the epoch of storms and onslaughts was condemned, and was presented as 'the tragedy of the nations.'"

Yes, it's hard for you to understand someone else's anguish. Your position, "I don't know a thing about it," is truly a national calamity. You are capable of reducing human anguish to anecdotes, gossip and fantasies! And this amidst eloquent phrases about the February Plenum! But how on earth could you arrive at such absurd associations? Writing thus means you don't understand the very essence of perestroyka, which was begun by the party, and which was the very essence of the February

Plenum. Andreyeva does not care for films in which the theme of repentance is heard; she is opposed to films which demonstrate enthusiasm, *joie de vivre*, and the spiritual elevation of the people, against a background of the announcer's text on the repressions. But after all, that's just how it was in life! The country "rejoiced," yet grief was their constant companion. The author does not even want to hear about that. And I don't know how one can write so calmly and so cynically about that which is tied in with the fate of millions of people; moreover, not only those who became victims of the repressions, but also those who were close to them—to whom they, those who perished, were fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, grandfathers and grandmothers; and what is still worse, sons and daughters.

But matters do not end with films; next comes drama. The author rains down invective on the plays of M. Shatrov, which she categorizes as a new outbreak of "expose's." She places in this category, "Blue Steeds on Red Grass," "The Brest Peace," and "Further...Further...Further..." Her complaint can be reduced to the fact that, "Shatrov in essence is departing from the accepted principles of socialist realism," that he is, allegedly, distorting history, and scorns historical facts. According to Andreyeva's logic, his plays pander to that sector of youth which "comes to the performance with banners, and tries to smear dirt on our past and our present." But if there really was dirt in our past and if it exists at times today as well (in some other manifestation, perhaps), can one really remain silent about that? Neither can Shatrov. How he does that is his right as an artist. Artistic productions have a right to conjecture, and if you will, to exclusiveness. You can argue with him; you may not agree; but the fact of the matter is that in a dispute, the position of the party in opposition is revealed. And that is not always in his favor...

No, Andreyeva will not intimidate the Soviet people with her reproaches, that today the "dignity of the founding fathers of socialism," and the heroism of the people in the years of the Revolution, the Civil War, and the Great Patriotic War, are being consigned to oblivion. This is not what is threatening our people. They will remember and respect their own heroes—the living and the dead: all those who fought for the righteous cause. But this does not mean that we must conceal the truth about our life in the past. "We do not need such truth," is heard at times from the rostrum and from the pages of the press. But you see, there are not two truths; there are not and there cannot be. And we must speak about this Truth aloud, and our young people must learn the Truth from the cradle.

Eteri Gugushvili, Secretary of the Board, USSR Theater Actors' Guild

#### A Sober View is Needed

Having become thoroughly familiar with the PRAVDA editorial and the reactions to it, I would like to share my own thoughts. Since April 1985 the country has adopted

a decisive policy of renewal; a policy, the correctness of which arouses not the smallest doubts. Unfortunately there still are people, and they are quite numerous, who have not yet come to the realization that a return to the past simply cannot be; that the country needs perestroika like air; and that it is the necessary condition for the further development of our society. Yeliseyev, our renowned cosmonaut and scientist, was entirely correct when he stated that the question of whether socialism will or will not exist depends directly upon whether or not we can cope with perestroika. There is not one single sector in the socio-economic and cultural life of our society that does not require restructuring.

We are all going through a difficult period. As never before, maximum mobilization is required of the strength, the unity and the solidarity of the Soviet people. Under these conditions an appropriate and timely word from the press is of no small significance. But polarization of views on one and the same phenomenon, and departure from historical truth only serve to arm our opponents, the enemies of perestroika. It is simply amazing that authors can close their eyes to the massive lawlessness of the period of the personality cult, to the physical annihilation of the finest representatives of the party and the people—the people who established our new state system, the power of the workers and the peasants.

In my own little Southern Ossetia, during the period of repressions, the very flower of the party workers and figures of science and culture were almost entirely wiped out. We feel these losses to this very day.

I would also like to say that the tempo of the process of perestroika is still far from the desired one. Among the measures necessary for accelerating the socio-economic development of the country as a whole, as well as all its regions, I consider one of the principal ones to be more decisive replacement of the entrenched bureaucracy, a hold-over from the period of stagnation, in all administrative links. And of course, we must ensure a high level of state discipline everywhere and in all things, and increase the responsibility of people for matters entrusted to them.

Professor Lyudvig Chibirov, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Dean of the Historical and Philological Department, South Ossetia State Pedagogical Institute

#### More Light

I have an acquaintance who loves to argue and to be right on top of everything, as they say. No, I don't find anything bad about that. But at the same time, he loves to issue orders, and holds "strong personalities" in high esteem. He retains these qualities from years past, when he supervised something or was the head of something.

And so you see, not long ago he dropped in on me, and with a triumphant shout brandished in my face a copy of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, with the article by N. Andreyeva, "I Cannot Give Up My Principles."

"What did I tell you? They've finally grabbed it by the neck!"

And thus he disposed of our previous conversations—whether we need democracy, of which "neither the end nor the edge can be seen," or glasnost, which has knocked our former idols from their pedestals.

I read Andreyeva's article and re-read it, and I thought: Is this not the end of that discovery, that word which we now utter more than any other, "perestroyka?" Frankly, I found that idea depressing, and I was not the only one. But then the PRAVDA editorial appeared just in time, and we all breathed a sigh of relief.

No one, of course, should be prohibited from having his own opinion. Disputes, discussions and polemics are necessary. But let us speak freely: Is the fact that we are fearlessly and freely exchanging opinions—Is that not perestroyka, the blessings of which are readily enjoyed by both its adherents and those who think differently as well?

And therefore, my point of view is firm: I am for glasnost, for more light, and more socialism!

Nodari Mosashvili Engineer, Mobile Mechanized Column, Gruztransgaz Production Association

#### Set Our Minds Free

It was stated at the February 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum that the tarnish of bureaucratism must be removed from the values and ideals of socialism, and they must be purged of everything inhuman. I believe that the letter published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA captioned, "I Cannot Give Up My Principles," is nothing other than nostalgia for the times of the "iron fist," the times of inhumanity and tyranny, when everyone was brought up to lead a life of slavish obedience; when one was not even permitted to have, let alone express, one's personal opinion on this or that question; and when one was forced to cringingly adhere to and propagate only the official point of view, in literally all aspects of social life.

Today we are casting off all of this, as if removing from our hearts and souls the scabs of everything that suppressed the individual in those infamous times, and reduced one to the level of a "cog" in the mechanism of the state machinery. And I welcome wholeheartedly this difficult work, which is necessary not only for society as a whole but for every individual as well: the work on ridding ourselves of everything the period of the personality cult brought to our lives. And that is why I have a

special affinity for the appeal of our last party plenum—to do everything possible to create a new atmosphere; to emancipate our minds; and to arouse interest in all aspects of perestroyka and the accumulation of a variety of opinions.

Yes, perestroyka has stirred up the nation; but it has also stirred up those who not only yearn for the old times, but are ready to energetically act to restore them. They shall not succeed! My confidence is bolstered by the PRAVDA editorial, "The Principles of Perestroyka: A Revolutionary Way of Thinking and Acting," and the genuine storm of reader reaction in support of the positions expounded in it.

Tamaz Kereslidze, Chief Physician, Human Generative Functions Scientific Research Institute imeni I.F. Zhor-danie, Georgian SSR Ministry of Health

#### Wipe It From the Face of the Earth

In my view, the principal benefit of perestroyka today is precisely that, as described in the PRAVDA editorial, over the last three years we have become different. We've lifted our heads and straightened our backs; we are honestly looking the facts in the eye; we are openly speaking out on critical topics; and together we are seeking ways to solve the problems which have accumulated over the decades. We especially need openness and glasnost today. We need them in order to properly interpret the past, and in order to find just the right support from which to push off and move ahead.

Today we understand that the development of democracy is impossible without freedom of thought and speech; without open exchange of opinions; without critical analysis of the past. I am not in agreement with those who avoid speaking about 1937, that hard year in the life of our country (and not only '37), and about the costs of Stalin's personality cult. One can, of course, take up the position of a bystander. And if one does not wish to look the truth in the eye, one can say: "I wasn't alive at that time; I did not see those things; and therefore I don't know." But that is not a principled, honest position. And that is not what glasnost and perestroyka are teaching us today.

It seems to me that all of our problems today proceed precisely from that position—the position of a bystander, and from a bureaucratic approach to matters. And the roots of bureaucratism are tenacious; they reach into the depths of the decades, and therein lies their support and their strongpoint. Presently one is frequently reminded of Lenin's well-known thoughts on the fact that one can drive away the tsar, and drive off the landowners and the priests; but it is impossible to wipe bureaucratism off the face of the earth. It can only be reduced by stubborn, painstaking labor. And that is just the kind of persistent, painstaking work that is needed today, in order to eliminate our losses from bureaucratism, which we unfortunately still encounter today in

practically all spheres of our lives, in the ministries and departments—and what is especially unacceptable, in the ispolkoms of the city and rayon Soviets of People's Deputies. Only by gaining the victory over bureaucratism will we be able to defend our perestroyka.

Zhanna Dzhaparidze, Principal, Tbilisi Secondary School No 49

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**Glasnost: Media Need for Legal Protection  
Against Official Pressure Noted**

*18300215a Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 2,  
Feb 88 pp 3-4*

[Article by A. Gostyushchin, APN correspondent: "What Is Keeping Us From Blowing Up the 'Forbidden Zone'"]

[Text] Of late it has become somehow particularly offensive to look at events which do not yield any result whatsoever. Last fall a routine such event took place on Central Television screens: on the "Country Hour" program a documentary video film was shown of a meeting at the Moscow area kolkhoz "Leninskiy Luch." The film clearly showed that matters at this progressive kolkhoz are far from as splendid, as it might seem to the numerous guests—our own and from abroad—and as the farm managers (and not only they) wish to present them.

"If I were the show's creators I would probably stay awake all night with pride," a television reviewer from one of the central newspapers wrote the next day, "with the happiness, that they have such confidence in me, that they have such faith in my help, but in the morning, perhaps, I would be worried: whether I will always manage to maintain this level?"

Retelling all that took place on the screen is pointless, therefore we will note only the main things: in outward appearance, "Meeting" (the name of the film) is about a number of problems at a happy kolkhoz, where economic miscalculations are magnificently "adorned" with an onerous moral atmosphere, a lack of glasnost and a high-and-mighty attitude toward people on the part of chairman Yu. Kubarev (a typical scene was shown, in which the people stood up at their chairman's order—this was how he had decided to conduct voting). However, generalizing what was shown, one could say that "Meeting" is a film about a result and yet another statement of shortcomings.

Lately, journalists have often been reproached for working more "in breadth" than "in depth." This reproach is to some extent justified. However, each of us at times encounters so many obstacles while working "in breadth" that against our will we come to the question: does strength remain for a profound analysis? The "Country Hour" film crew's work on the former

"untouchable zone" is a classic example of this (with good reason, one can be sure that certain shots of the struggle with the journalists have already become classics).

The kolkhoz chairman met the group: "You are here for the first and last time." The crew set up its equipment, but the meeting had not begun and there was talk of calling it off because of television (yet another eloquent example of the managers' attitudes toward the kolkhoz workers—about 500 people had gathered in the hall and were waiting). Here, the journalists were immediately confronted with another point of the traditional "program"—intra-farm vigilance. The party committee secretary M. Skopinskiy was displeased: "You have not introduced yourselves."—"I introduced myself. Do you need papers? Here, please, take the papers. I am a director at Central Television, my name is Galkina. We have nothing to hide."—"Yes, but right now we are not ready for you yet."—"And what do you need to get ready?"—"Well, actually, we really ought to be mentally prepared. They have always notified us before."

Finally, somewhere "in the wings" they settled the matter and decided not to call off the meeting.

However, we have digressed from the "schedule" which they offered the journalist in the "untouchable zone." Vigilance is a meaningless word, without any real action, and the kolkhoz leadership immediately after the meeting began to act—it set up strict control over the crew. A local car constantly followed the car with "Gosteleradio" written on it (the journalists also filmed this "country detective"), and the local leaders carefully observed who spoke and what was said in front of the camera.

However, times have changed, and the system developed in past years did little to stop the kolkhoz residents: they said what they thought. Then they began to use all the new methods from the old arsenal: spreading rumors, threats and attempts to discredit their critics (both the kolkhoz workers and the film crew). It is easy to imagine how much strength the journalists had left for creative quests. when such a specific "resistance of the material" was functioning and when, at the same time, they had to watch every single step so as to give no reason to find fault with anything. In order to defend themselves from the subsequently inevitable accusations (of bias, ill will, unethical behavior—among a number of others I could suggest), the television workers were forced to film everything.

To spare the reader the story of all the attempts to pressure the television workers, I will now move to the next part of the "schedule," which one might arbitrarily call "To Moscow!" Yes, complaints against the television crew were sent precisely there: by mail, by telephone and the old way, without technical means—the defenders of the waning kolkhoz facade were not too lazy to

personally explain to the Central Television management about how nonobjective the film, of which they had not yet seen even a meter, had turned out.

Then the film crew was forced, along with the technical and creative problems, to solve the problems of "pushing" the film through. This rather specialized labor, which is so typical of correspondents' work that it is about time an annual lecture course on it was offered at the department of journalism, took more than a month. A great many words were said in various offices, explanatory notes were written and an article on how the filming had gone was published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA by the film's authors L. Belyayev and I. Galkina, with the eloquent title "The Untouchable Facade." And thus, one Sunday afternoon in August, the viewers of the first Central Television channel watched, at last, "Meeting."

How nice it would have been to put a period here! Over 2,000 letters and telegrams, which every journalist expects (only three opinions were "against"), were sent to the editors. People were indignant and supported the honest position taken by television. They demanded to know about the measures being taken. The only things the editors did not expect were the official responses of the Krasnogorsk Gorkom and the Moscow Party Obkom. Nor did the kolkhoz workers expect any sort of television sequel. But why not? After all, there was plenty of material: nearly 8 hours of tape had been filmed.

Unfortunately, one does not have to look long for the answer: the pressure on television did disappear without consequences. "Meeting" is a film, as I have already stated, about a result. Although this is also very unpleasant for the kolkhoz leaders, it is bearable. They even sent a response to the editors: in some things they agreed with the criticism, in others not quite, for one thing they blamed themselves, and for another they blamed television. Yet a conviction that nothing in particular had happened can be clearly felt in this letter. Under the new conditions there is already plenty of new experience in relations with journalists. Democracy! Criticism got its foot through the door. The more so, since kolkhoz chairman Yu. Kubarev was retired after the film.

However, if journalists, following their "in breadth" work, would undertake an analysis, relate the path by which the kolkhoz came to such a meeting and explain the set of problems concealed behind the high figures, a "tie game" would become totally impossible.

Problems in an extreme situation (and work in the "untouchable zone" is precisely such a situation), with which mass information media workers are running into all the more often in recent years, are particularly distinct. Let us recall the entire path of the "Country Hour" film crew. It has one feature which runs throughout—uncertainty at each stage of work in a continuation.

Of course, the times are not the same, and the rayon authorities cannot order the electricity turned off in the rayon during the show time of an objectionable program (such an event has happened in director I. Galkina's experience). However, after all, it was really not that long ago, frankly, when a kolkhoz chairman could force the local electric station to cut the electricity to the "television studio," and there would simply be no film. It is good that attempts to immediately suppress the matter did not succeed. However, after all, there was no follow up of any sort! It is no accident, therefore, that there are rumors circulating in the rayon that the film crew was "bribed," that nothing would come out of it, that...

Finally, let us look frankly at the foundation, thanks to which it has become possible to continue this struggle without winners. Right now, when the work style of our press, radio and television has seriously changed, along with the appearance of a high degree of independence, the high degree of the journalist's defenselessness against the petty tyranny of "interested parties" has also become particularly noticeable. Which, by the way, is also true of citizens' defenselessness against the possible tyranny of journalists.

Were the kolkhoz leaders able to prevent the correspondents from being at the meeting and making the film ("We have always been notified before") or not? Or, let us suppose a similar situation: must one ask permission from the director of the plant which one intends to criticize in order to come through the door? And if not, then from whom does one ask for a pass? Or here is an old question: do journalists have a true right to criticize the space department, if the department itself edits this criticism?

I do not want to say that I know the true and definitive way, but undoubtedly there is one. Legal ambiguity gives rise to more ambiguity. The "Law on the Press" would be able to lay a legal foundation for journalistic activities, yet its drafting has been impermissibly prolonged. It was said that it would be discussed (true, without specifying where and by whom). A full year has passed and we have discussed and discovered a great deal in this time, but work on the new law is in such a state that we have not found out what, specifically, will be in it.

I do not want to say that right now we should quickly bring the draft Law on the Press up for nation-wide discussion. However, it is also impossible to really be silent. After all, it is not only a question of the professional interest of tens of thousands of mass information media workers. Journalism is a specific social institution which can very sensitively touch upon the interests of every citizen in the country, even upon complex, critical situations. We need legal guarantees of glasnost not merely to satisfy our curiosity.

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**Comment on Progress of Glasnost in Military Affairs Journalism**

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[Article by Major M. Syrtlanov, correspondent and organizer, department of party life, for the district newspaper LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA: "Criticism? It Was Not Ordered!"]

[Text] How is restructuring going in the editorial offices of military newspapers? Most likely, this question disturbs others besides my colleagues, army journalists.

Not that long ago, the suppression of criticism and dissatisfaction of the senior commanders with bold articles met us at every step. This "dissatisfaction" was sometimes reflected in journalistic fates, in our professional careers. Here is an example of this.

The chief of one of the leading editorial departments of our newspaper, Lt. Col. N. Kikeshev, had graduated from the academy and is working successfully. He would have been able to rise higher on the service ladder, if 3 years ago he had not "been in a hurry with restructuring;" his material on bungling by senior commanders, who had built a tower with marble pilasters on the training ground for show's sake, was published in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA at the very same time that the matter of appointing Kikeshev as correspondent for the USSR Ministry of Defense central press organ was being considered. The newspaper worker, having washed the dirty linen in public, was thus not appointed...

They decided to transfer sharp-penned war correspondent Sr. Lt. V. Drobot, who had been working for a house paper, to the district newspaper. The editorial board approved Drobot but the political department, to which he had been subordinate when working for the house paper, generated red tape and in every possible way delayed the matter of his transfer. The sole reason: the political department was unhappy with the correspondent's critical articles. Today, one could accuse those responsible for this red tape. The trouble is that some of these are no longer there, and others have gone far away. The others have themselves already gained the right to demand explanations...

I also remember my first attempt to interview the chief of the political department of a remote garrison on a previously forbidden subject.

"What? Restructuring? In the army?"—the gray-haired general rejected it out of hand.

I had met him officially when serving in Afghanistan. He was not a man to seek out the easy roads there. What had happened to this person, whom the entire regiment had loved for his courage and modesty?

Even though it was painful to realize that one had to struggle against the unpleasant heritage of the generation of people closest to us—our fathers, I then risked raising an objection:

"Yes, restructuring! In the army as well!"

I will not name the idol of my own fighting youth, if only for the fact that he himself, not for fashion's sake, but sincerely, now speaks of restructuring.

Not long ago I happened to be in that unit once again. I reported to the general of my arrival and the subject upon which I intended to write and was pleased when the general suggested making corrections in my work plan, advising me to critically evaluate the problem of developing young commanders, which was dragging along. "It is time for the newspaper to help us surmount shortcomings," he remarked kindly.

Let me be frank: in the units they have been waiting for a lift on the veto on glasnost. We, the army newspaper workers, have also been waiting...

Much has changed with us since the arrival of new leadership: the editor and his deputy. They managed to overcome bureaucratic administration in the creative process. Upon seeing the support of the editors, many of our journalists "started really writing." Among them, in my opinion, are Captains V. Kazakov, A. Sloma and D. Kushnir, and Sr. Lt. O. Vladimirov. Young both in terms of age and in work experience at the district newspaper, they have found an opportunity to multiply their enthusiasm through the experience of their senior comrades, such as Lt. Colonels V. Kaushanskiy and I. Savchuk, and retired Colonel D. Zhuk. The young editors have made friendly contacts with their colleagues at the republic newspapers of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan—contacts which promote the military-patriotic and internationalist upbringing of future soldiers. Transfers in service are not accidental. One of us has advanced to the position of correspondent for a central military journal, another has filled the vacant job of department head by winning a competition (and not by his file!), and another two have gained the right to study at the editorial department of the Military-Political Academy imeni V.I. Lenin. This is understandable: long-term creativity and long-term service should be interrelated and should organically stimulate each other in the interests of the matter to which we have devoted our lives.

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**Youth Paper Publishes 16 May Komsomol Plenum Resolution**  
18000376 Moscow *KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA* in Russian 18 May 88 p 1

[Report: "Decree of the Central Committee Plenum of the All-Union Komsomol and the Central Council of the All-Union Pioneer Organization imeni V. I. Lenin, 'On the Tasks of the Komsomol and Pioneer Organizations Stemming From the Decisions of the CPSU Central Committee's February (1988) Plenum'"]

[Excerpts] The CPSU Central Committee's February (1988) Plenum and its decisions are of extremely great importance for Soviet young people. The party's policy of socialist renewal reflects the fundamental interests of the younger generation, opens a broad path to initiative, and creates favorable opportunities for the application of effort and the full manifestation of the capabilities of young men and women.

The Central Committee of the All-Union Komsomol and the Central Council of the All-Union Pioneer Organization imeni V. I. Lenin support the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee's February (1988) Plenum and the speech given at it by M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and they will do everything necessary to achieve a new quality of upbringing and training and the development of educated citizens who are staunchly dedicated and devoted to socialism and capable of carrying out revolutionary transformations in society and of living and working under conditions of increasingly thorough democracy, glasnost, and competition based on ability, knowledge and industriousness.

Since the 20th Congress of the All-Union Komsomol, in the Komsomol and Pioneer organizations positive trends have manifested themselves, and the necessary conditions have been being created for the active participation of young men and women in democratization, the implementation of radical economic reform, and the restructuring of public education.

However, the tremendous creative potential that lies in young people and the Komsomol and the Pioneer Organization is not being fully realized. Among young people in general and among some Komsomol and Pioneer personnel, conservatism, inertia and stereotypes of the old thinking retain their force. Restructuring in the Komsomol and the Pioneer Organization is proceeding with difficulty and without the proper acceleration. A divorce from life, a lack of trust in the maturity of young people, excessive cautiousness, and the awaiting of instructions "from above" are making themselves felt.

Many committees of the Komsomol take a tolerant attitude toward recurrences of "leftover" principle for allocating money for the needs of education and upbringing, and toward manifestations of indifference toward

children, young people and the young family. The cooperation between the Komsomol and Pioneer organizations, on the one hand, and families, preschool institutions, educational institutions and other upbringing institutions, on the other, is very weak. Nihilism, apathy, consumerism, attitudes of dependency, and other negative phenomena are being overcome too slowly.

**I.**

The plenum considers enhancement of the communist upbringing of young people, children and teenagers and the struggle to establish socialist ideals to be an extremely important task for the Buro and Secretariat of the All-Union Komsomol; the Central Committees of the union-republic Komsomols; the kray, oblast, okrug, city and rayon Komsomol committees; the Komsomol and Pioneer organizations; and the youth information media.

They are to work to achieve the more complete realization in actual life of the Leninist concept of the Youth League, cleansing it of existing distortions in the theory and practice of Komsomol work. They are to concern themselves not just with the material and social situation of young people but with their moral condition, as well. They are to strive to reinforce the dignity of the young person, to develop his best human qualities, and to do everything possible to support bold and enterprising young men and women.

They are to work more resolutely to free themselves from bureaucratic red tape, familiar schemata and stereotypes, and to update the forms and methods of Komsomol and Pioneer work in a timely fashion and direct it first and foremost toward providing assistance to the individual young person in life, work and studies. They are not to be afraid to trust young men and women, and are to guide them toward life, the practice of restructuring, and the struggle against bureaucratism, indifference and passivity, and negative manifestations.

The plenum supports the party's policy of deepening restructuring, and it directs Komsomol organizations toward active participation in preparations for the CPSU's 19th All-Union Conference and toward broad discussion of the urgent issues in the country's life. The Komsomol committees, from the Central Committee of the All-Union Komsomol to the primary organizations, are to be bolder in submitting proposals aimed at further democratizing society, giving socialism a new face, enhancing the role of the All-Union Komsomol and young people in these processes, and solving the socio-economic problems of the rising generation. They are to widely take part in the discussion of nominees for election as delegates to the party conference and to be more active in recommending as delegates young Communists working in the Komsomol who are genuine supporters of restructuring.

The Komsomol committees are to enhance the role played by the mass information media for young people and children in the process of democratization and in the affirmation of glasnost as a norm in internal Komsomol and Pioneer life, and they are to master the extremely important tool of forming public opinion among young people and teenagers. They are to give special attention to the training and upbringing of journalistic personnel, and they are to provide specific assistance in the work of Komsomol and Pioneer publications. The Buro of the Central Committee of the All-Union Komsomol, together with the USSR State Committee for Public Education, is assigned to study the possibility of establishing academic journalism divisions for training specialists for young people's and childrens' newspapers and magazines.

The Komsomol committees should act as the initiators of up-to-date forms of study in the social sciences and seek new approaches to cooperation with social-science instructors. They are to revise the content and structure of sociopolitical practice, academic divisions in the social vocations, political clubs, and competitions in social-science and economics subjects.

The Buro of the Central Committee of the All-Union Komsomol is to submit proposals:

—to the USSR Academy of Sciences, on establishing scientific schools of the leading social scientists for young people who are students in higher schools and elsewhere;

—to the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, on increasing television time allocated for young people. It is to study the possibility of establishing a special channel at Central Television of educational, young people's and children's programs.

The Buro of the Central Committee of the All-Union Komsomol is to take steps to improve the study and publicizing of the history of the Leninist Komsomol and the All-Union Pioneer Organization imini V. I. Lenin.

The Komsomol committees and Pioneer Organization councils are to outline and implement specific actions contributing to an enhancement of the patriotic upbringing of young people, Pioneers and Komsomol members; to the development in them of a profound respect for the culture, language and traditions of all nations and peoples of the USSR; and to the unification of young people in the campaign for the strengthening of socialism and for restructuring. They are to actively enlist young servicemen in the reserves, especially those who have served in Afghanistan, and the students of military academies in accomplishing the tasks of the patriotic and internationalist upbringing of children and teenagers, and are to support their desire to join together around concrete, actual work. They are to study the possibility of establishing a military patriotic association under the Central Committee of the All-Union Komsomol.

## II.

The Central Committee of the All-Union Komsomol and the Central Council of the All-Union Pioneer Organization imeni V. I. Lenin believe that the Komsomol and Pioneer organizations should become for young men and women and Pioneers the first school of democracy, self-government and true Komsomol comradeship.

The Komsomol committees and Pioneer Organization councils must creatively interpret the processes that are taking place, persuasively publicize the experience of cooperation among educators and higher-school and other students, assert respect for the young person as an individual, and work to achieve an expansion of the participation of young people in the management of educational institutions and in the planning and organization of the educational process and resources of schools, vocational-technical schools, technicums, and higher schools. They are to work to master mechanisms of cooperation with pedagogical and learned councils and public-education councils, and are to help Komsomol members delegated to these agencies in their work.

A proposal is to be submitted to the USSR State Committee for Public Education and the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences regarding the conducting of research, sociological surveys and experiments in the development of self-government in the schools, vocational-technical schools, technicums and higher schools. The legitimate rights and interests of young people who are students in higher schools and elsewhere are to be actively defended. Initiative is to be shown in organizing regular meetings of young students and Pioneers with the executives of local party, soviet and economic-management agencies.

A proposal is to be submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet regarding the drafting of a "USSR Law on the State Educational Institution."

An extremely important part of the political and organizational work of every Komsomol committee and every Komsomol organization is to replenish and strengthen the ranks of the All-Union Komsomol, and to develop in young people and Pioneers a conscious desire to be in the Komsomol. The role and responsibility of Pioneer organizations for the preparation and recommendation of Pioneers for membership in the Komsomol are to be raised.

Pioneer Organization councils are to be freed from functions that do not properly belong to them, and a fundamentally new approach is to be developed to the formation of such councils on the basis of democratic principles.

III.

The Komsomol committees are called on to lead the campaign of young people for up-to-date knowledge, and to develop in each young person a desire for self-education and self-development and the ability to live under the conditions of the increased competitiveness and competition among personnel that are dictated by the new socioeconomic situation.

The plenum calls the attention of the Komsomol committees to the need to enhance work in developing the computer literacy of young people.

The Buro of the Central Committee of the All-Union Komsomol is to submit to the USSR State Committee for Public Education and the USSR Academy of Sciences proposals for the organization of a network of specialized schools offering in-depth study of the fundamentals of the sciences that determine the development of scientific and technological progress.

Within the framework of cooperation with industrial enterprises and research institutions, the practice of involving higher-school and other students in research work based on economic contracts or financed from the state budget, or related to actual design projects. Fuller use is to be made of the public and state system of young people's scientific and technical creativity to develop the scientific and technical creativity of children, teenagers, vocational-technical students and higher-school students.

Within the framework of implementing the Commonwealth Program of the fraternal youth leagues, young students are to be involved more broadly in the process of accomplishing the integration tasks of the CEMA countries.

Komsomol organizations are to more actively involve higher-school and other students in cooperative forms of work related to their future specialties. A proposal is to be submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet regarding the inclusion in the draft USSR Law "On Cooperatives in the USSR" of a provision on lowering the age limitations for membership in training-and-production cooperatives to 14 years and granting them advantages with regard to taxation and material and technical supply. In order to protect the rights and interests of young cooperative members, the advisability of establishing an All-Union Association of Student and Youth Cooperatives is to be studied. Komsomol committees are to increase the attention given to their activities and not to allow, in connection with them, cases of money-grubbing and attitudes of self-seeking.

The Buro of the Central Committee of the All-Union Komsomol is to develop and submit to the USSR Council of Ministers proposals for regularizing and shifting to a contractual basis agricultural work done by

higher-school and other students, and, together with interested ministries and departments, is to examine the normative basis for the work of school factories and school farms.

IV.

In the communist upbringing of young students, the principal and reliable ally of the Komsomol and Pioneer organizations should be the teacher. It is necessary to work persistently to overcome existing deformations in relations between teachers and students, to foster the development of a pedagogy of cooperation, to do everything possible to support creative teachers who boldly and innovatively utilize the potential of the students themselves, and to instigate their nomination for election as executives of educational institutions.

The Central Committee of the All-Union Komsomol is to submit a proposal to the USSR State Committee for Public Education regarding the establishment of a system for guiding young men and women into the teaching professions. The Komsomol committees are to take an active part in expanding the network of pedagogical classes and schools, future-teacher divisions at pedagogical institutes, and other forms of developing teaching skills, and are to give special attention to young men and women who have practical experience in working with children and teenagers.

The Buro of the Central Committee of the All-Union Komsomol, the Central Council of the All-Union Pioneer Organization imeni V. I. Lenin, and the Commissions for Aiding the Reform of Public Education of the Central Committee of the All-Union Komsomol, together with interested organizations, are to draw up:

—a statute on an experimental pedagogical training and research complex under the Central Committee of the All-Union Komsomol for the training of Pioneer leaders, organizers of work at places of residence, and educators of nonschool institutions on the basis of the Moscow State Pedagogical Institute imeni V. I. Lenin;

—proposals regarding the prospects for the vocational training and financial support of Pioneer and nonschool workers, expansion of the training of psychologists, the establishment of a psychology service at nonschool institutions and, in the future, at every general-education school and vocational-technical school, and the enhancement of the psychological and pedagogical qualifications of instructional personnel.

The Komsomol committees and young educators' councils are to work to create real conditions for enhancing the professional skills and developing the creativity of young teachers; they are to set up laboratories of advanced pedagogical experience and Komsomol young people's collectives at schools and vocational-technical schools; and they are to act the initiators of scientific and practical experiments in optimizing pedagogical work,

especially that of young specialists. They are to foster the formation of associations for professional communication among and the growth of young educators, and they are to concern themselves with improving the conditions of their work, lives and leisure.

V.

The Komsomol committees are to look thoroughly into the essence of the social problems of young higher-school and other students, concern themselves with creating conditions for their study, life and leisure that meet present-day requirements, and take practical part in improving the physical facilities and equipment of public education.

Proposals are to be submitted to the USSR Council of Ministers regarding special fares for the travel of young higher-school and other students by rail, air, motor transport, sea and inland waterway, and regarding work with teenagers at their places of residence. Together with the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports, the USSR Ministry of Defense, the Central Committee of the All-Union Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation and Navy, and other voluntary societies and the creative unions, the Buro of the Central Committee of the All-Union Komsomol is to examine the possibility of expanding the network of defense-sports, sports-and-technical, tourist and other types of specialized camps for teenagers.

Provision is to be made for the publication of a collection of normative acts concerning the rights and duties of young students, and of a library of legal knowledge for schoolchildren and higher-school students.

The decisions of the February (1988) Plenum of the Central Committee of the All-Union Komsomol affect the interests of millions of young people. The successful implementation of what has been planned depends in many respects on every Komsomol member and Pioneer, on their participation in social transformations, their steadfast work, and their persistent efforts to master knowledge.

The Central Committee of the All-Union Komsomol and the Central Council of the All-Union Pioneer Organization imeni V. I. Lenin appeal to Komsomol members and Pioneers to show initiative and independence, to respond with actual deeds to the party's decisions, and to greet the CPSU's 19th All-Union Conference and the 70th anniversary of the Leninist Komsomol in a worthy fashion.

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**Center for 'Legal Upbringing' to Combat Juvenile Crime Opened in Armenia**

18300255 Yerevan KOMSOMOLETS in Russian

14 Apr 88 p 3

[Article by M. Zilfugaryan, senior teacher, department of social sciences, Armenian RIUU: "Problems and Prospects"]

[Excerpts] A great deal has been done and is being done in Armenia to prevent legal offenses by minors. Some good experience has been gained, and there are good, enterprising workers who are devoting all their efforts to the complex business of indoctrination. Statistics show that in 1987 Armenia had the lowest percentage of legal offenses committed by minors in the country. And the number of offenders decreased by 22.7 percent. Minor crime is just 2.4 percent of all crime in the republic. In 12 rayons of the republics not a single legal offense has been recorded since the start of last year. Crimes committed in a state of intoxication are rare.

But these positive trends afford no grounds for self-satisfaction and complacency. Crime among students of general education and vocational-technical schools is not decreasing.

There are many problems that must be solved in order to eliminate crime among minors. To eliminate this evil we need new methods and procedures of work with young people and a new approach to indoctrination tasks. At the 20th Komsomol Congress M. S. Gorbachev noted that to solve the problems of perestroika we "need people with solid civic principles and socialist ideological conviction, who are capable of carrying out their moral duty fully, stand firmly for the truth, and do not engage in flattery and hypocrisy."

The time has come when we need a precise determination of the compulsory minimum of legal knowledge which young people should receive in the specific stages of acquiring legal sophistication.

Forms of legal indoctrination not linked to the school and lecture hall are still being improved and updated very, very slowly. A major bolstering of the teaching methods and material-technical base of the legal indoctrination process is needed. Little normative, reference, popular science, and educational literature is being published, and this includes methodological and legal literature. The philosophical and social-preventive potential of teaching legal disciplines is little used, and legal indoctrination work is still divorced from the performance of practical tasks. The question of preparing teachers for schools has not been properly resolved, and no uniform system for them to improve their qualifications has been set up. There are also significant shortcomings in legal indoctrination of minors and young

people at their place of residence. This work is sometimes done without adequate direction and the most effective, intelligible forms of legal indoctrination activities are not always chosen.

The training and retraining of persons involved in legal indoctrination of young people (methods inspector, teacher, pedagogue-organizer at the housing administration, Pioneer guide, Komsomol guide, and others) is poorly organized. No work is being done with those who engage in legal indoctrination of young people on a volunteer basis, although there are 8-10 times as many of them as regular employees. A special analysis showed that the preventive indoctrination required by law is not being done with the 758 adolescents in the republic who are on the Inspectorate for the Affairs of Minors rolls. Successful legal indoctrination of young people and an effective fight against legal offenses can only be ensured with a comprehensive approach to these questions. The efforts of all elements of our social life are needed to prevent child crime; more attention must be given to each adolescent. This is exactly what G. Akopyan, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Armenian Komsomol, had in mind when she observed, in her article "Question Number One" (KOMSOMOLETS, 6 February 1988) that we cannot, unfortunately, say today that a unified system of work with minors to prevent legal offenses has been set up in the republic.

A unified program of work in this direction has already been developed and approved in the republic for a series of interested ministries, departments, Komsomol committees, and other public organizations.

But even this will be only a half-measure in restructuring the coordination of activity of Komsomol organizations, criminal law agencies, and other state organs. We need a special normative enactment on coordination that defines the tasks, basic directions, principles, and most important forms and methods of coordination and strictly regulates the authority, duties, and rights of the participants in coordinating actions to prevent legal offenses by minors.

In our opinion, the know-how accumulated in the republic with coordinating the activity of Komsomol and public organizations and criminal law and other state organs creates all the necessary conditions for working out and adopting such an enactment. Its adoption and introduction could play an enormous part in the cause of preventing legal offenses by young people.

The challenges posed by the CPSU to improve the indoctrination of young people demand the creation of a republic scientific methods center for legal indoctrination of young people, which would bring together people who sincerely want to contribute to the cause of strengthening socialist legality and would coordinate the activity of all state and public organizations and individuals who are carrying on the legal indoctrination of adolescents and young people (this does not apply to the work of

criminal law organs in coordinating prevention of legal offenses by minors). In the republic, just as in the country, there is no such scientific methods organs today whose activity is entirely and by statute directed to solving the above-discussed problems and is obligated to work specifically on questions of legal indoctrination of minors and young people.

The center for legal indoctrination of young people can do a great deal to prevent legal offenses and to provide legal education for young people, parents, and persons working on indoctrination of minors and young people, build a legal library, form special legal and pedagogical consultation services and groups to engage in sociological research and organizing competition in legal knowledge, and set up law study groups and societies at schools according to interests (notary work, police science, investigation, the trial, and so on). Examples would be clubs called "Detective," "Sherlock Holmes," "Young Friends of the Militsia," "Chekist," and many others; both legal specialists and pedagogue-psychologists could be enlisted in this.

Work should be done on a daily basis with the parents of problem adolescents at the place or residence, bolstering cooperation between internal affairs organs and micro-rayon councils, which organize leisure activities for adolescents, including "problem" ones, making broad use of individual sponsors and enlisting the help of authors, artists, actors, teachers, athletes, scientists, production leaders, and party and Komsomol workers.

The center can organize universal compulsory legal education through the schools for raising the qualifications of pedagogue-organizers at housing administrations, teachers at special schools, associates of internal affairs organs, and above all those who work in labor indoctrination colonies and inspectorates for the affairs of minors. It can actively enlist highly qualified pedagogues, methodologists, legal scientists, and practicing lawyers to prepare graphic aids and collections of legal problems and popular legal literature and can work on many other questions related to raising the legal sophistication of young people.

It is contemplated that computer technology be used in this sector to accumulate information on progressive forms, methods, and measures to prevent legal offenses among young people; this will be useful not only to criminal law organs, but also to party, Soviet, and Komsomol organs, labor collectives, and public youth organizations of any rayon, city, or republic.

The primary tasks of the Center for Legal Indoctrination of Young People are activating and broadening existing means of legal indoctrination and developing and introducing new methods and forms of indoctrination into practice making extensive use of advances by legal and pedagogical science; summarizing and disseminating progressive know-how from work on legal indoctrination

of young people; studying the state of legal indoctrination of young people (the causes of legal offenses by young people, the factors that promote their commission in schools, establishments, and enterprises of the rayons and cities of the republic) and making suggestions for further improving this state; work on vocational guidance in law, identifying the most capable students, teaching the legal sciences to children and adolescents, and helping them receive appropriate education and specializations. The center will help young people improve their knowledge in the field of law, broaden their scientific outlook, acquire the skills of scientific research work, and for this purpose organize scientific societies and law schools.

The following are being set up within the Center to organize and carry out legal indoctrination work: (a) specialized sectors, departments, and groups; (b) clubs by interest; (c) an editorial-publishing group; (d) a pedagogical-psychological service; (e) a crisis service; (f) a methods office.

I conclusion I would like to say that this is the first such Center to be established. Neededless to say, this is a long and comlex process. It is still going slowly. But we view the work that has been started as an important area of cooperation between science and practice, in coordinating the activity of Komsomol and public organizations and criminal law and other organs.

11176

**Jurist Proposes Measures to Increase  
Independence of Judges**  
18000378 Moscow *PRAVDA* in Russian 19 May 88 p 3

[Article by V. Savitskiy, head of the department of legality of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law, under the rubric "We Continue the Discussion: Democratization and Legality": "Selection of the Judge"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] We are used to the fact that every issue of the newspaper seems to bring a new courtroom drama. In one city innocent people were sent to places where nobody wants to go just because they confessed to crimes about which, in reality, they did not know. In another rayon a man stubbornly and consistently refused to confess his guilt and they just as stubbornly and consistently told him that he was a criminal and had been correctly convicted; and then suddenly one day, already broken and despairing, he received the news that he had been rehabilitated. In a third case... But what is the point of retelling these variations of judicial errors; there are too many of them. The question is: how can we, as quickly as possible, get rid of this social evil that is sometimes created under the appearance of justice?

Lenin taught us to look for the main link, the one which can be used to pull the whole chain. In the system of organs that are waging the fight against crime that link is

the court. The greater the role and prestige of the court and legal system as a whole and the more independence the court enjoys in relation to the organs of power and government, then the higher the level of legality and democracy in the country will be.

Of course significant improvements are needed in the work of the organs of investigation, the procuracy, internal affairs, and the bar. The sources of many judicial errors lie in the delay and lack of initiative—or on the contrary—the excessive accusatory activity of investigators. Procuracy supervision does not always do the best job. But after this there must always be the court hearing, the important filtering stage. This is where you would expect all the mistakes of the investigation, its excesses and omissions, and all obvious or concealed abuses by officials to be discovered. Unfortunately, we know that this kind of monitoring is often missing, and the court in its decision simply repeats the conclusions of the indictment. Why is this?

There are many reasons. Because of neglect of the regulating potential of the law in the past and the substitution of arbitrary decisions and bare administrative actions for legislative enactments, the courts found themselves in the status of an ordinary administrative institution. The command style in relation to the court became established not just in its relations with local party and Soviet organs, but even penetrated into legislation.

Courts must report to the voters on their work (we are so accustomed to this that we are speechless when asked if such reports are compatible at all with the independence of the court). The procuracy coordinates the activity of the courts, and the Ministry of Justice exercises organizational guidance of the courts. But how is the court, "beset" from all sides with orders and instructions, going to maintain its appropriate constitutional independence? Moreover, the "degree of pressure" on the court is steadily growing. Whereas in the 1970's only 10 percent of the judges surveyed said that they were subjected to any kind of illegal influence, in the early 1980's it was already 25 percent, and today it is more than half.

It cannot continue this way. The court must be just that, the court, respected, self-reliant, and genuinely independent. People want it to be not a bureaucratic institution, long on hearing and short on dispensing decisions, but rather a true defender of their interests, no matter what position the offender may occupy, no matter what influential connections he may use. A program of political, legal, organizational, and material measures is needed to change the current situation.

What do I have in mind? Above all the human factor. The classical question, "Who is the judge?" forces us to look more closely at the system for training future guardians of the law. In many respects it is far from

meeting contemporary requirements. I often have occasion to read copies of verdicts, which citizens sent to me together with their petitions. You read them and are amazed. The document, which decides the fate of a person for years into the future, is simply incomprehensible: the evidence is described so clumsily, there is no logic to the presentation, and the language is ugly and ungrammatical. An illiterate judge—it is hard to imagine a more frightening paradox. But, unfortunately, it happens.

Therefore, we must establish careful vocational selection, with participation by experienced judicial employees and psychologists, for admission to institutions of higher legal education. Some of these students have to be trained to move from student status to performance of difficult judicial duties. The specialization of future judges must be significantly strengthened. At present they are very superficially, to put it mildly, familiar with formal logic, legal ethics and psychology, the theory of reaching decisions, and the use of calculating-decision-making equipment.

Furthermore, to hold the position of judge a lawyer with higher education should, in my opinion, work at least 3 years as an investigator, attorney, marshal of the court, or other legal specialist. Then he should take a special state examination. This should be an examination of maturity in life, moral irreproachability, and of course, the ability to correctly understand the highly complex legal situations which everyday practice puts before a judge. It is relevant to recall that in his time Lenin proposed introducing special examinations for candidates for employment in the Worker-Peasant Inspectorate and membership in the Central Control Commission.

It seems to me that the age requirement for judges today is too low. When a young man or woman just 25 years old becomes a judge, how can they have the experience and knowledge to decide the fates of others? It would be better if people's judges were at least 30, and members of higher courts at least 40.

But just suppose that a candidate who meets the requirements has been selected. He must now be officially elevated to the lofty rank of judge. I do not mean a formal document, but rather a legal procedure that will guarantee the future judge complete independence in deciding cases, real independence, not just a formality. If this is lacking, if the judge is always looking over his shoulder to see how the authorities above him react to the decision he makes, the justice system will be worthless!

In all its long history the human race has not been able to find any significant diversity in ways of forming the body of judges. Disregarding details, all methods ultimately come down to two: either judges are appointed or they are elected. For a long time the idea prevailed among us that direct election by the population best

personified the socialist legal system. But we sometimes forgot that, for example, in most of the states of the United States local judges are elected by the population. On the other hand election of judges was first proposed in Poland, but in 1976 the Constitution was amended and the State Council began to appoint them. In Hungary all courts are elected by the Presidium of the republic, for unspecified terms, which actually means until they reach pension age. In Czechoslovakia election of all courts is the prerogative of the highest organs of power.

The conclusion is clear: there is no single, unambiguous formula for designing the system of justice and there cannot be. Everything depends on the specific conditions of each country. But it is also clear that under our conditions, where the selection of candidates for people's courts is actually in the hands of the apparatus of the party committees, election of courts by the population is nothing but a nice-appearing way to formalize decisions that have already been made. And even if there are several candidates for one judicial position, the judge will be selected from those who have earned the authorities' blessing, which means that he will try to please them or else he will not serve more than one 5-year term.

I see only one possible conclusion: people's judges (and they hear 98 percent of all civil and criminal cases) must be "torn away" from the "guiding, directing, and mobilizing" influence of rayon authorities. These authorities should not have any involvement with judges; they are not the ones to decide who will administer the legal system in the rayon. But then who should? It should be the highest permanent organ of the Union republic, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. It will appoint judges by submission from the minister of justice and their terms will be until reaching pension age. Judges should enjoy the right to permanent positions. They cannot be removed from their position except in circumstances specifically stated in the law (commission of a crime, serious illness, desire to transfer to other work, and so on). Independence of judges from local organs will also help ensure that they will be on the party rolls not in the rayon where they work, but at the oblast center. Court needs for repair of buildings, transportation, and the like should be met in a centralized way, not with the help of local economic managers, so that judges will not be put in an ambiguous situation.

People may ask what guarantees there are that a judge appointed for life will definitely be competent, intelligent, and fair. I answer that there are no guarantees, no more than for any other position or profession. But we must think through the mechanism of selection and appointment carefully to reduce mistakes to a minimum. Perhaps the first 3 years after appointment will be a kind of probationary period for the judge. If he does not perform well the Presidium of the Union republic Supreme Soviet has the right to remove him from his position during this time.

Needless to say, lifetime appointment to the position (incidentally, this system is adopted in most of the countries of the world) imposes very high requirements on the candidate, in effect exemplary requirements. Can we today find an adequate number of judicial workers on this level? It appears that we cannot. But there is no reason to assert that the transition from an elective system to an appointive system must be carried out universally and at once. A certain time is required for this, and during this time both systems can function in parallel.

I anticipate the "final" question: suppose that a judge has been able to pass all the tests, but then later it develops that he is not well enough educated, that he is crude and dull. Will he really stay in his position until the end of his life? It is not a simple question. Yes, I agree that a certain number of judges—suppose that it will be 2-3 percent—will turn out to be, in V. I. Lenin's phrase, "wretched" judges. That is bad. But still there are appellate levels who will be able to correct the mistakes of lower-ranking colleagues. And it will be easier for them to do so because the remaining 97-98 percent of the judges will be masters of their work.

11176

#### Large-Scale Thefts of Precious Metals Discovered in Uzbekistan

18000424 Moscow *PRAVDA* in Russian 2 Jun 88 p 6

[Article by V. Artemenko, *PRAVDA* correspondent: "The Golden Trough: Lack of Monitoring Controls at Enterprises Under the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metals Has Opened Loopholes for Thefts"]

[Text] Together with U. Rakhimov, the Uzbek minister of internal affairs, I arrived at the city of Almalyk to attend...a gold refining. A dull spring rain was falling, and for that reason a canvas tent had been set up in the courtyard of the municipal police department. Here everything was already prepared for extracting the precious metal. A. Tarantsov, one of those against whom criminal proceedings had been brought, took a small crucible, filled it with a black powder, and began to heat up the contents with an ordinary autogenous torch. Soon the dark mass started to boil, and Tarantsov, just like a magician, from time to time poured some kinds of white powders into the crucible. Before our very eyes the boiling mass grew brighter, and literally within 10-12 minutes the "refiner" turned off the apparatus, plunged the crucible into some cold water, and then extracted a piece of golden metal from it. This bar turned out to contain 153 grams of very high-assay, pure gold.

This was an investigative experiment. But some time ago in Almalyk a group of thieves of socialist property had used just such a simple method to obtain gold and silver. And some artful dodgers at the Almalyk Mining and Metallurgical Combine had stolen raw material, extracted precious metals from it by chemical means,

and sold them to swindlers at exorbitant prices. Staff members of the police force recently cut short this criminal activity by catching the people involved red-handed.

Information began coming in to the Tashkent Oblispolkom's OBKhSS UVD to the following effect: A multi-branched network of crooks was operating in Almalyk. Moreover, each group had its own assigned tasks: one group would steal abundant gold-bearing materials at the mining and metallurgical combine, another would smelt and refine them, and sell the finished gold, and a third group would buy it and make dental crowns and other valuable items out of it. An operational group was set up to combat this activity. It included the division chief, Police Major S. Takhtin, and the department chiefs, Major M. Tursunkhodzhayev and Lieutenant Colonel Yu. Shalamanov, as well as other operatives. The whole operation was headed up by the UVD chief, Police Major General R. Saitbayev. They soon succeeded in picking up the trail of one of the "cooperatives." It was ascertained that the buying and selling of precious metal was going to take place on a certain evening at a motor-vehicle depot.

The weather that evening did not favor the police. A thick snow was falling, and at a distance of 20 meters a person was "washed out" in a white shroud. The police operatives "interlaced" two rings in the area where the raid was to take place. Nor were the gold-sellers asleep at the switch. N. Parpiyev arrived with the goods. He lived in the Pskentskiy Rayon, was head of the warehouse at the Agropromyshlennost Center, and had a previous conviction. He was protected by three bodyguards, who reacted sensitively to any sideward glance or unusual movement by the passers-by.

When the police operatives seemed to have already closed the ring around Parpiyev, he took to his heels, having sensed that something was amiss. And they only managed to overtake him after a chase of 300 meters. But there turned out to be no gold on him after this chase: while running, he had succeeded in getting rid of the evidence. The policemen went over the sector literally centimeter by centimeter. After several hours, when it was already past midnight, Lieutenant I. Aymatov's joyful shout rang out: "Here's a gold bar!"

With the participation of witnesses, two more "small pieces" of gold were found. The total weight of all three pieces was 1,002.6 grams, worth a total of more than 80,000 rubles. After Parpiyev, the police also managed to arrest his accomplices, who were armed and attempted to offer resistance. The arrested persons turned out to have the following equipment in their Zhiguli cars: scales and weights for weighing the gold, a phial with nitric acid and a pipette for determining its quality. And taken from their place of residence were silver-gold amalgams, solvents and powders, gas cutting-torches, oxygen and propane cylinders, which had been used by the thieves in smelting and refining precious metals.

And with this foursome the police began to disentangle the enormous network of swindlers. A long and persistent search was conducted. They succeeded in uncovering three independent groups of crooks, interconnected by a high-quality "commodity." They all were operating at the Almalyk Mining and Metallurgical Combine. Here at the copper-smelting plant there were gross violations of the established requirements with regard to safe storage of products containing precious metals in either a free or an easily extractable form. Thus, gold-bearing materials were stored and processed in areas which were not equipped with means of protection. Outsiders had access to the warehouse.

I had occasion to visit the copper-smelting plant and became convinced with my own eyes that there were quite a few loopholes here for enterprising crooks. Here, for example, is one of the channels for thefts. So-called copper-electrolytic slag is stored in settling tanks located in the electrolysis shop's basement area. With the aid of improvised means, a clever person could, little by little, extract gold and silver from such slag. And they did extract them. They scooped up this very slag by the bucketful and carried it out secretly, thanks to the unguarded doors, of which the basement has several.

But the most important "Klondike" was the conversion-processing section. In accordance with the production technology, the furnaces are cooled down from time to time and completely dismantled. And so every piece of dross is interspersed with beads of silver and gold scrap. According to the instruction, this refractory deposit must be weighed, loaded into buckets, and sent to be resmelted in the company of financially responsible persons. But they had forgotten about the established requirements at this plant. Cleaning the furnace dross of precious metals was being conducted without monitoring controls or security personnel. The combine's Division of Technical Control employees failed to ensure strict monitoring controls over the movement of precious metals between the copper-smelting plant's shops.

Seeing all this, certain conversion-processing employees—a shift foreman, a converter-operator and a crane-operator—along with specialists in the slag-sulfuric-acid shop directly engaged in grading and shipping out the refractory dross, conspired among themselves. And using five KamAZ trucks, they hauled 24 tons of gold-bearing material away from the plant's territory and concealed it out of town in a secret place. But they did not succeed in processing it; their secret was discovered by the OBKhSS operational group.

Without any particular efforts, the criminals stole slag and refractory bricks. And they successfully processed the raw material in garages, dachas, cellars, and huts. They refined the precious metals which they obtained for jewelers and dental specialists. Thus, one of Almalyk's dentists voluntarily handed over two gold bars weighing 205 grams; he had acquired them from crooks who

worked at the mining and metallurgical combine. And, in all, the police have already managed to seize from the swindlers 16 bars of gold with a total weight of 3,671 grams.

The stolen refractory bricks have been returned to the copper-smelting plant. For more than a month the furnace dross has been processed under the monitoring controls of the police personnel. In the Tashkent Oblispolkom's OBKhSS UVD I saw an official document—out of 24 tons of stolen "raw material" about 70 kilograms of pure gold and almost 692 kilograms of silver have been refined. And the total value of the gold and silver confiscated from the criminals and returned to the state amounts to 11,346,192 rubles. Also taken from them were cash and bonds worth 51,000 rubles, various types of imported television and radio equipment; the document likewise described seven passenger cars and other miscellaneous property worth more than 60,000 rubles. Twenty-four persons have been charged with criminal liability. I'm not going to name all the swindlers (there are too many of them), and this criminal investigation is being continued.

And it is, obviously, the court which will provide the principal judgement as to the unhappy situation with respect to safeguarding precious metals at the Almalyk Combine. Yu. Voloshin, the enterprise's former deputy director for operational schedules and security (now deputy director of the Uzbekistan Association), willfully simplified two paragraphs of the sectorial instructions concerning the storage and safeguarding of precious metals, and this, of course, facilitated the thefts. Moreover, he failed to eliminate in a timely manner the shortcomings in the work of the guards at the electrolysis shop, nor did he tighten up the intra-facility throughput system. It is difficult to imagine, but, you know, prior to the discovery of the latest theft of some 24 tons of construction waste the combine did not even have...gates. That is why the KamAZ trucks, loaded with stolen raw materials, were able to leave the Almalyk Mining and Metallurgical Combine territory without hindrance.

"And even when the OBKhSS operational group had apprehended the thieves," stated R. Saitbayev, the chief of the Tashobispolkom's UVD, "when blatant violations were revealed at the copper-smelting plant with regard to the established requirements for storing and safeguarding products, V. Sigedin and I. Grents, the directors of the combine and the plant respectively, so to speak, dismissed the complaints which had been presented and tried to depict the situation as favorable. Only irrefutable proofs compelled them to adopt specific measures to initiate the necessary procedure."

Moreover, an order has been promulgated on this score with reference to the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy. It should be said that gross violations of product storage and safeguarding have also been observed at other enterprises under the Ministry of

Nonferrous Metallurgy. Thus, PRAVDA wrote about this at the Severonikel Combine; group thefts of gold-bearing waste products of the electronic industry occurred there. At the copper-smelting plant of the Norilsk Mining and Metallurgical Combine students of Krasnoyarsk University stole copper electrolytic slag. Attempts were made to steal precious metals along with the sweepings and waste products at the Norilsk and Krasnoyarsk nonferrous metal plants. Here too the reasons for the thefts were the same—carelessness and lack of responsibility on the part of officials. Furthermore, the Main Gold Administration has long delayed the approval of a new edition of the statute regarding the

specific conditions for turning over to the state fund precious metals contained in dross and waste products.

...After the Extraordinary Procedure at the Almalyk Combine, its administration attempted to put things in order. In the slag-sulfuric-acid shop even barbed wire began to appear around the tank where the copper-electrolytic slag is stored. But it seemed to me that they should have put a person in charge of this facility, and finding such a person has proved to be a problem. Meanwhile, as the facts attest, there are no guarantees of avoiding thefts. And where there are no guarantees,...

2384

**Goals, Structure of Soviet 'Green Wave'  
Ecological Movement Explained**

18300246a Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in  
Russian 12 Apr 88 p 1

[Article by Candidate of Biological Sciences Lev Medvedev, chairman, Ecological Section, Association of Soviet Esperantists: "Green Wave" is Calling You]

[Text] I want to invite everyone to whom the fate of nature is dear to take part in the ecological actions of "Zelenaya Volna" volunteer labor, which began on 3 April. What is this, anyway?

Let us return to the Fall of last year. At that time the "Wave of Peace" anti-war action was in progress in many countries in the world. Inasmuch as preservation of the environment in which we live and preservation of the peace are inseparable from one another, thousands of people in our country and abroad dedicated that day, in the words of Saint-Exupery, "to tidy up our planet a bit."

It was an unforgettable day in Moscow, at Moose Island National Nature Park. Many people came on Saturday with their families, both children and grandchildren. There were many school-children and college students, including some from Afghanistan, Denmark, Syria, Ruanda, the USA, and Finland. Sixty Irish school-children also preferred working in a real "Russian forest" to trekking through museums. That day, Muscovites turned to all like-thinking people with an appeal which ends with the words, "Would that everyone on Earth had his own 'Moose Island,' be it a national park, a grove of trees, a small river, or a tree in the courtyard. In extending a helping hand to nature, we are helping to keep our planet green, vital and beautiful."

Thus was born a new tradition—an ecological work-holiday for the good of the world. And that's what Green Wave is all about. Its staff includes representatives of the Komsomol Central Committee and Moscow City Komsomol Committee, the All-Russian Nature Preservation Society, the Ecology and Peace Society of the Soviet Committee for Defending the Peace, the Association of Soviet Esperantists, the USSR Philosophical and Geographical Society, the Moscow State University Youth Council on Nature Preservation, the Center for the Young People's Ecological Movement, and many other clubs and associations as well.

Today we are appealing to the readers of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA with a challenge to organize Green Wave centers in your own towns and villages, and to take energetic action on your local problems.

How can one help nature? There are nature preservation matters galore in every city, in every populated place. None of them are minor; they are all important, if it is a question of the nature of one's native area.

This year the Moscow staff of Green Wave once again made the Moose Island National Park its number one project. Its goal is to tidy up the area, plant trees, and clean up the streams and springs. On 3 April about 3,000 people came to Moose Island once again for the special volunteer-labor Sunday: students from Moscow State University and Moscow Order of Lenin and Order of the Labor Red Banner Higher Technical School imeni N.E. Bauman, kids from the surrounding schools and vocational-technical schools, Medical School No 22, and workers from Moscow enterprises—especially from the Sokolnikiy Rayon; everyone to whom the fate of our national park is dear. Work was begun in the floodplains of the Yauza and the Buylayka. Yet time was found for extensive dialog on nature, and on the role of young people in protecting the environment. It was decided to meet again for a voluntary labor Sunday on 24 April.

Green Wave provides scope for creative endeavor. It helps focus attention on the most critical ecological problems, which require immediate solution. Impromptu inspection campaigns help reveal them, conducted hand-in-hand with specialists, as we did during the Dnestr-85, -86 and -87 volunteer nature preservation expeditions. However, many of the problems we uncovered on the Dnestr could have been solved through the efforts of local citizens: cleaning up the household trash heaps and manure piles along the banks, and restoring the stupidly razed water-preserving forest strips and submerged springs. Gullies have become a real punishment for the Dnestr. Stopping their growth by means of building dikes and planting trees is also a task within the power of the Green Wave volunteers.

The very same problems are found along many other rivers and streams in the country. The ecological risk situation has become critical in many regions. And naturally, this does not concern the rivers alone.

It is very important that all Green Wave work be conducted with ecological competence. Burn as little as possible! For example, it is better to let fallen leaves lie where they are, or compost them. Flatten tin cans, burn them and bury them. When digging holes, carefully retain the upper layer of humus in place. And remember that the smoke from burning polyethylene packaging is very toxic.

Based on the work experience of our staff I can say that the chief thing for success in this matter is correctly selecting the place for applying one's efforts, and to rally and boldly take advantage of the mass information media for this. Recruit talented people—artists, musicians, journalists, scholars. But do not allow this creative activity to be turned into just another pro forma measure. Let it be non-routine, large-scale, and a celebration; one that makes its contribution to the cause of ecological creativity and enlightenment.

We hope to soon hear more about the good deeds of Green Wave. We shall do everything possible for it to become truly universal in the near future; for every particle of the Earth to have a better life, and that means man as well.

**FROM THE EDITORS:** This concept, which is already being put into practice, is for an interesting and useful cause. It is a most necessary cause—both for our land and for the people who live on it. And for the young people this is especially so. If the young men and women of our country—and yes, throughout the world—do not take up the cause of nature preservation with their own hands, they will have to live on a planet which is devastated, dreary, and quite simply dangerous.

The Green Wave ecological actions will continue to 5 June—World Environmental Preservation Day. There is still time for not only carrying out, but also giving proper forethought to the specific matters on which you wish to help nature.

The editorial staff has received a telegram addressed to all Komsomol and Pioneer organizations in the country:

"The Komsomol Central Committee supports the initiators of the Green Wave actions and calls upon Komsomol members and Pioneers, and all young men and women to expand this broad movement for improving our towns and villages; for laying out new gardens, parks and squares; for preserving the forests; and for cleaning up the beds of small streams and springs.

Let this work become a concrete contribution of the young people to the cause of nature preservation.

The Komsomol Central Committee"

**KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA** is awaiting your reports on the pace of the ecological actions. Do not forget to write the two words, "Green Wave" on the outside of the envelope or on the telegram.

09006

**Commission Dissatisfied With Uzbek Environmental Protection Work**  
18300246b Tashkent *PRAVDA VOSTOKA* in Russian  
23 Apr 88 p 4

[UzTAG report: "In the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers' Commission on Protection of the Environment and Rational Use of Natural Resources": "The Situation Remains Alarming"]

[Text] At a session held on 20 April in Tashkent, the commission examined the question of assimilation by Uzbek SSR ministries and departments of 1987 capital

investments for environmental protection and rational use of natural resources. The session was conducted by Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers First Deputy Chairman I.Kh. Dzhurabekov.

It was noted that last year 83.9 million rubles were spent in the republic for these purposes. Waste-water treatment plants capable of treating 88,500 cubic meters of waste water per day were put into operation, water recycling systems putting out 1.3 million cubic meters a day, and systems for catchment and neutralization of toxic substances from exhaust gases, with a capacity of 2,394 cubic meters per hour. This permitted a reduction, in comparison with the preceding year, of the dumping of untreated waste water into the reservoirs and a reduction of the release of harmful substances into the atmosphere.

At the same time, the assimilation of capital investments—both as a whole, and in individual sectors—remains unsatisfactory. Last year's plan was fulfilled by only 94.1 percent, and fewer funds were assimilated than in 1986. Especially serious shortfalls were committed by the republic Ministry of the Furniture and Woodworking Industry—where only 15 percent of the allocated funds were assimilated. At the Ministry of the Bakery Goods Industry, the figure was 47 percent; at the Uzbek SSR Administration of the Poultry Industry, 55 percent; at the Ministry of Local Industry, 58 percent; at the Ministry of Light Industry, 82 percent; and at Gosagroprom, it was 83 percent.

The plan for introducing waste-water treatment plants in the republic was fulfilled by only 65 percent. The Uzbek SSR State Committee for Water Resources Construction especially "distinguished" itself by completely blowing the assignment. Workers at a number of republic ministries and departments fulfilled only a small part of the plan: the Ministry of Consumer Services fulfilled 0.3 percent; Gosagroprom, 0.5 percent; the Administration of Poultry Industry, 2.0 percent; and the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, 3.0 percent of the plan.

The plan for introducing water recycling systems has not been fulfilled either. Gosagroprom and the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources did not introduce any of the planned capacities; Uzbek SSR the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry fulfilled the task by 27 percent; but the Ministry of Light Industry and the Administration of the Poultry Industry did not even plan for introduction of such systems—in spite of the fact that their enterprises are among the chief polluters of the water environment.

Tasks for introducing dust and gas-scrubbing installations were fulfilled by 87 percent. The Ministry of the Furniture and Woodworking Industry and the Soyuzbekgazprom Industrial Association totally spoiled their plans, while the Ministry of Local Industry introduced only one-third of the planned capacities at its enterprises.

It was emphasized at the session that the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, Ministry of the Furniture and Woodworking Industry, the Ministry of Bakery Goods Industry, and the Administration of the Poultry Industry have in fact ignored the decisions of the commission taken in May and September of last year. At that time they were ordered to carefully examine the state of affairs and bring out the reasons for not fulfilling the previously-established tasks at every subordinate enterprise; to take measures to overcome the lags; and to ensure complete assimilation of funds allocated for nature-preservation measures.

The administrators of the above-named ministries and departments were admonished for their irresponsible attitude toward environmental protection—a most important socio-economic and political task today—and on their lack of discipline in carrying out assigned tasks. They were warned that if such instances are repeated the question will be remanded to the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers for examination, and extremely strong measures will be taken by organs of state control against those who violate the norms and rules of the use of natural resources, right down to suspending production activities.

The commission called to the attention of the Karakalpak ASSR Council of Ministers, the oblast ispolkoms, and the Tashkent gorispolkom, the socio-economic and political importance of improving the ecological situation in the republic. It demanded that local authorities radically increase their demands on economic administrators who violate nature preservation laws.

The situation with respect to environmental protection at the Elektrokhimprom Production Association in Chirchik, at the Almalyk Mining and Metallurgy Combine, and at the Uzbek Refractory and Heat-Resistant Metals Combine were examined at the session of the commission. It was noted that the situation at these enterprises is changing extremely slowly and does not meet the demands of the times. The measures undertaken are doing little to help improve the severe ecological situation which has come to pass in the cities of Chirchik and Almalyk, nor to provide normal sanitary and hygienic conditions for the populace which dwells there.

The supervisors of these enterprises, A.G. Golubov, V.N. Sigedin, P.S. Maksudov and their deputies, who are directly responsible for this sector of work have failed to restructure their activities; they are guilty of red tape and foot-dragging in solving critical problems of protecting nature and the health of the public; and they are displaying a lack of discipline in carrying out the corresponding decrees of the republic government.

As a result, Elektrokhimprom remains the major polluter of water resources, dumping 59 percent of the total volume of untreated waste water in the republic. Meanwhile, reconstruction of settlement ponds here is to be completed only in 1993. The persistent pollution of the

River Chirchik amounts to a real threat to putting the Kibray Water Works out of action, as well as other sources of water supply for Tashkent, Yangiyul, Almazar and other populated places.

The Almalyk Mining and Metallurgy Combine is a major polluter of the air over Uzbekistan. Last year the volume of its discharge exceeded the norms twofold, and the level of sulfurous fumes polluting the residential areas of Almalyk around the combine was the highest in the republic. In spite of this, for many years the enterprise has systematically failed to assimilate the funds allocated for protection of nature.

The Uzbek Refractory and Heat-Resistant Metals Combine continues to dump a considerable amount of untreated waste water into the River Chirchik, although of late a certain amount of work on protecting water resources was carried out here. The combine has still not completed the task for construction of boreholes for vertical drainage, to intercept the polluted ground water in the infrabed flow of the Chirchik. Not all sources of air pollution have been equipped with scrubbing equipment: malfunctioning technological equipment is allowed to operate, and at times gas-scrubbing installations are simply disconnected.

The gross violations of nature-preservation laws by the above-mentioned enterprises is having a negative effect on the health of the people. Diseases of the respiratory organs and the cardio-vascular system among the residents of Chirchik and Almalyk have increased, and the level of illness here is higher than average for the oblast and the republic.

The commission pronounced the work on environmental protection at these enterprises unsatisfactory. Their administrators have been warned of their personal responsibility for carrying out nature-preservation legislation.

09006

#### **Kolkhoz Seeks Restitution From Plant For Environmental Damage**

##### **Lengthy Legal Battle, Obstacles**

*18300248 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
19 Mar 88 p 3*

[Article by UzTAG Correspondent N. Shulepina: "A Lawsuit with a Powerful Neighbor"]

[Text] In response to my request to familiarize me with the case, Judge Mirsaid Turdyev spread his hands: "I'd be glad to do so, but I can't. I don't have it; I sent it to Tashkent for expert examination. But unfortunately, one cannot familiarize oneself with it there either; it has not been registered."

And the case lay, very peacefully, on his desk. On the following day, when we phoned from Tashkent, Lyubov Ivanovna Golubyeva, chairman of the Almalyk People's Court, said: "He was ashamed to admit that he dragged out the examination. And to tell the truth we aren't making any kind of expert examination... But we are now expediting it."

It's about time. The suit of the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin of Pskentskiy Rayon against its powerful neighbor—the Almalyk Mining and Metallurgy Combine—has been at the Almalyk People's Court for two years.

In August 1986, cotton plants on 140 hectares of the kolkhoz plantation died with no apparent cause.

But it only seems that there was no cause. When the cotton farmers called in specialists from the Uzbek Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control Administration, they made the following diagnosis: "The plants received chemical burns from sulfurous gas and sulfuric acid mist."

At the very moment the order to punish the guilty was given, the next salvo of harmful products was discharged into the atmosphere.

In the past, the peasants would have remained silent. But these are different times. The kolkhoz appealed to the law for protection. It is asking compensation for its losses (about 100,000 rubles).

Judge Turdyev, although he did not present the case, agreed to recommend it, but to nearly every question he replied, "I don't remember."

One can understand the unfortunate lapse of memory of the judge, a former worker at the mining and metallurgical combine. But one must also understand the peasants, who have not forgotten their lost harvest. The kolkhoz chairman, Abdunabi Abdurakhmanov made the rounds of the authorities: "We ask but one thing: Get our case under way!"

But, it seems, in order to get the case under way, another expert analysis is required. "There is some doubt as to the objectivity of the hydrometeorological service representatives," says Lyubov Ivanovna. "We are looking for an independent expert."

Well, what of it? It is the right and the duty of the court to have doubts. But let's say they find an expert. What will he be able to check? The poisoned air has long since been carried away to other kishlaks and cities. The poisoned water has flowed away. And the poisoned cotton plants have decomposed. But the contaminated soil has been replenished with new harmful "deposits"...

What should become of the suffering kolkhoz workers? After all, they also have the right to have doubts. For example, the representatives of the state environmental preservation service were unable to appear in court. They were simply not invited to appear. And they were not even informed.

And that is how this goddess of justice in Almalyk carried out her task, when the case concerned their namesake combine. She declined to hear the testimony of specialists on the fact that sulfates on the leaves of the dead cotton plants was 156 times greater than normal, and that on those days instruments indicated a discharge of sulfuric acid mist.

We asked Lyubov Ivanovna Golubyeva, whether the case is being expedited. "Turdyev is already writing his decision, and this afternoon he will send the case to Tashkent for expert examination," was her reply. "He will be in the city, and will call you."

Over the past three years, the State Inspectorate for Protection of the Atmosphere has sent materials to the prosecutors on more than 20 instances in which industrial enterprises are poisoning every living thing beyond the gates of their departments.

But only two cases have been brought to trial. One of them is described above. The second is similar: A 20-kilometer strip of plantations next to the Novokokand Chemical Plant has been literally scorched. The chemical workers denied their guilt, and the case was remanded for further investigation and then closed.

Last year apple orchards were damaged by discharges from the Samarkand Chemical Plant. The case went to the procurator, but has not moved.

The response of the Andizhan Oblast procurator to a signal about a smoking boiler: "The materials have been attached to a case on manufacture of defective goods." (?)

Incidentally, Judge Turdyev did not call us either.

#### Presiding Judge Criticized

18300248 Tashkent *PRAVDA VOSTOKA* in Russian  
13 May 88 p 4

[Article by UzTAG Correspondent Yu. Kruzhilin: "Returning to the Topic": "A Lawsuit with a Powerful Neighbor"]

[Text] The UzTAG report, "A Lawsuit with a Powerful Neighbor," described an unusual court case. The Kolkhoz imeni Lenin in Pskentskiy Rayon believes that the Almalyk Mining and Metallurgy Combine is to blame for the destruction of crops worth 100,000 rubles, and appealed to the court for compensation for their loss. The kolkhoz based its complaint on a discharge of

harmful gases by the Almalyk Mining and Metallurgy Combine, which took place in the summer of 1986. Today, almost two years later, the case has still not been decided.

Almalyk Mining and Metallurgy Combine Director V.N. Sigedin writes to the editors that, after discussing the article, the enterprise administration adopted a resolution to step up control over carrying out the measures worked out for the five-year plan, for making more complete use of the exhaust gases from metallurgical production as raw material. Ten major measures will be undertaken at the copper smelting plant and three at the zinc plant.

Work on cleaning up the air has been carried out previously as well, the letter goes on. For example, last year harmful discharges were reduced by 49,000 tons as compared with the permissible level.

Sigedin presents proofs (11 points) that the kolkhoz's case is without foundation. But this case is being examined in violation of procedural norms; with delays; and with the omission of important details.

We do not believe it possible to touch on the essence of the case under examination here. But after all, the lapses of the Almalyk court and procuracy organs are obvious; and that is what the article "Lawsuit with a Powerful Neighbor" is essentially about. Was it worthwhile for the judge to even attempt to conceal information from the press? Is the fact that neither the Almalyk court nor the procuracy deemed it necessary to respond to the press article in the manner required by law worth noting?

This problem is broader than it may appear to be.

Presently, farmers in many parts of the republic are ridding themselves of their former reticence and are speaking out with increasing confidence in defense of their legal rights and interests. The article "A Lawsuit with a Powerful Neighbor" cites a number of incidents in which farms have appealed to the law for restitution of losses caused by enterprises. But we are not yet able to cite one single precedent in court decisions in Uzbekistan in which the peasants found solace in the law.

The damage is obvious. People are speaking and writing more and more often about the industrial discharges which are polluting the water, the air and the land, and which are injurious to the people's health. And yet there are no guilty parties?

If such cases were to be conducted everywhere as they are in Almalyk, we would be unable to raise the ecological standards for the public for a long time.

It is not for a journalist to instruct the court on who is right in a specific suit. Decide them without prompting, as the law requires. But decide them! And do not drag them out for years. After all, look how much time has

been wasted. Many actions stipulated by law have not been carried out. A great deal of evidence has been lost. From the very beginning no concern for others was shown. The kolkhoz, which is inexperienced in such cases, was not rendered juridical assistance, nor was it given advice how and where to receive it...

The reply of the Almalyk metallurgists concludes optimistically: "The Combine is taking exhaustive measures to clean up the airspace around Almalyk... With the introduction of a second complex for oxyacetylene smelting, discharges of harmful substances will be reduced to 50,000 tons a year—which is less than that of 1987 by a factor of three."

Only one figure is lacking here: the specific date for introduction of the oxyacetylene furnace, which is truly needed, and which would help clean up the air over Almalyk. Unfortunately, the pace of its installation is far from breakneck. Just as, incidentally, the pace of examination of cases in our courts. Critical problems are staring us right in the face, such as the ecological problem; and the creak of the wheels of the Almalyk carriage of justice is especially doleful.

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The article, "A Lawsuit with a Powerful Neighbor," was discussed at an executive session of the Department of Justice of the Tashkent Oblast Ispolkom, in the presence of all People's Judges in the Oblast. A written declaration was sent to the republic Ministry of Justice for relieving Judge Turdyyev from his duties prior to expiration of his term, because of shortcomings in his work and red tape in examination of a number of criminal and civil cases.

The collegium of the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Justice consented to the proposal, and the declaration on removing Judge Turdyyev from his duties prior to expiration of his term was sent to the appropriate authorities in Almalyk.

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**UzSSR: Morbidity Linked to Toxic Defoliants; Research Muzzled**

18300245 Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 13,  
26 Mar-2 Apr 88 pp 26-27

[Article by Aleksandr Minkin: "A Deadly Pestilence"]

[Text]

**Thirty-three Commissions**

Galina Khadzhibayeva, a candidate of medical sciences, has been working since 1983 against the will of the authorities. The staff of her laboratory at the Scientific Research Institute of Obstetrics and Gynecology (SRIOG) in Tashkent was cut from a dozen to two persons, but she went on with her work. Her articles were

not printed, but she continued to work. The research was prohibited. She went on working. She was fired, and for almost a year she worked without pay. She was reinstated, after her salary was cut by 100 rubles—and went on working. She has had a stroke. She goes on working.

But more and more of the time and energy of Khadzhibayeva is now being spent not on the work itself but on trying to prove that it is important and necessary. Not for her—for the people.

Thirty-three commissions have tottered and fallen in recent years. Recently, a 34th confirmed the findings of its predecessors that the work is of national importance, of extreme urgency, and of specific scientific and practical value. Nine reputable persons signed the statement: medical authorities, professors, and a jurist.

This same commission has stated that the work has been disrupted by SRIOG Director R. Khodzhayeva and by the deputy director, R. Stepanyants. For five years, and with complete impunity, they have engaged in disruptive activity.

Certain of the commissions studied the activities of the director. They uncovered incompetence, rudeness, deterioration of work, financial violations, and misuse of her official position. Yet Khodzhayeva continues to be in charge. Of what? Of obstetrics and gynecology in Uzbekistan. Meanwhile, the mortality of infants and mothers in Uzbekistan continues to grow....Stop! There would seem to be no need of reading further. This is a departmental secret. Yet not altogether. In the past year the press has touched upon this forbidden subject.

#### A Deadly Pestilence

This is the word pesticide as translated from its Latin roots. The press has already made mention of butifos, an extremely toxic defoliant used to spray cotton. Ion Drutse has described with bitterness the contaminated land in Moldavia. With horror he cited the figure of 22.5 kilograms of toxic chemicals (pesticides) per hectare, which exceeds by more than 10 times the average for the country. The young crop, the land, the fruit, the domestic animals, and even the people are being poisoned.

Glasnost accomplished its task. Butifos was banned. A naive reader might rejoice; for in the summer of 1986 he could read about this dreadful poison and by fall find out that its use had been prohibited.

The reader, however, will have occasion to grieve instead. Butifos was banned, but only after the entire available supply had been dumped on Uzbek soil. And before they had even finished the defoliation, instructions were issued not to write about it in the republic press, saying, "Why trouble the people unnecessarily?"

Nevertheless, it was prohibited? That it was. Yet there is no reason to rejoice. Butifos was prohibited, but not defoliation.

There are dozens of toxic substances in use in Uzbekistan, and butifos is not the most dreadful in terms of the danger it poses. Obviously, we are not obliged to contend with a single poison. "The annual use of toxic chemicals used in the sowing of cotton in Uzbekistan amounts to 54.5 kilograms per hectare, as compared with an average of 1 kilogram per hectare in the Soviet Union as a whole." So the academician M. Mukhamedhanov has written in a biological journal. Cotton has become virtually the only crop in Uzbekistan. Fifty-four kilos of pesticides per hectare are now the norm. And if the wind blows towards the kishlak, they keep raining down.

#### A Special Crop

Ten years ago an Uzbek farm manager told me: "Cotton is a special crop. You do not plant cotton—it plants you; you do not pick it—it picks you." I will never forget it. Times change, but cotton remains a special crop.

Doctor of medical sciences M. Makberdyev, for example, wrote an article about a very widespread allergy traceable to cotton blossoms. Called on the carpet by the republic CP Central Committee, the scholar solemnly pronounced: "No allergy is attributable to cotton." Needless to say, his article was not published.

The allergy, of course, did not act on his instructions. It continues to exist, but illegally.

At the end of the 1970's candidate of medical sciences Galina Khadzhibayeva began to study the health of workers employed in the cotton-ginning plants. She compared them with similar women (with respect to age, number of children, etc.) who were not working with cotton. It turned out that illnesses of the respiratory and gastrointestinal tracts and those, in particular, related to childbirth were far more serious in those, understandably, who every day were breathing cotton dust in which could be found the entire series of pesticides. There were miscarriages, fetal deformities, extra-uterine pregnancies, stillbirths, and other horrors.

The research was not merely theoretical. To improve the working conditions of women, Khadzhibayeva worked out recommendations along the lines of which decrees were adopted in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Kirghizia.

According to the testimony of Professor Z. Volkova, a doctor of medical sciences and chairman of the working women's hygiene section of the commission for Union problems of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, "Research was conducted in 13 cotton-ginning plants and covered more than 13,000 people." In a letter addressed to the Ministry of Health and Council of Ministers of Uzbekistan, Professor Volkova urged that

research of the problem be increased and Khadzhibayeva's laboratory be strengthened. That was in February 1983. After this, as you know, the laboratory was broken up and an effort was made to halt the research work.

A special crop—not only allergies cannot be attributed to it, but illnesses of any kind!

#### The Ministers Request Gasoline

S. M. Bakhramov, UzSSR minister of public health, forbid everyone under him talking with me, including staff associates, medical personnel, and SRIOG Director Khodzhayeva herself. But to me he said on the telephone: "First I myself must check your credentials, and then, if everything is in order, I will describe the situation for you in a new light. That was on a Friday. Time was found to review my credentials on Tuesday. In the meantime I met with some people, who, apparently, did not know of the minister's prohibition. Among them was Comrade Artykov, deputy director of the UzSSR Central Committee's department of science. It was from him that I learned of the remarkable decisions of his colleagues in the USSR Ministry of Public Health with regard to the catastrophic condition of obstetric care (i.e., infant and maternal mortality) in Uzbekistan.

"And are you fulfilling the plan?"

"What can I say? There is plenty of money allocated now. But we have not been able to make use of the little that was provided previously. Up to 30,000 a year was left over." (According to the USSR Ministry of Public Health, up to 3 or 4 million.)

Damnation! A thousand curses on our excellent decisions! The money is provided, a resolution adopted, and those responsible happily disperse. Then the press announces: "Specific measures are being taken within a specific period." We read this, and are quite content. Look how bad everything was, and look how good it will be. But you cannot build an obstetrical clinic just with money. You need cement, machinery, workers, and equipment. Meanwhile, money will not get it for you."

Nevertheless, Comrade Artykov stubbornly declined my insistent request to see the Tashkent Obstetrical Clinic on Lunacharskiy Road.

Minister Bakhramov spoke as follows:

"Before the revolution there were 139 doctors on the territory of Uzbekistan. Now there are hundreds of times that number." (It is a pity that infant mortality has not been decreasing with the same rapidity—alas, it is growing.—A. M.) "The sanitation facilities were poor. Now they have been improved." (Improved in what respect? The amount of water per person has been sharply declining. There were no sewers then, and there are still no sewers. Even today there are families with one common toothbrush, and many have none at all. Public nutrition

is poor.—A. M.) "The number of doctors is still everywhere below the norm, and in some places three times below the norm. We have decided to create trauma centers in 12 oblasts. We can equip six of them with up-to-date equipment. Meanwhile, there are no doctors at all who know how to operate such equipment."

The minister was interrupted by a phone call. He listened and frowned as I thought: On paper there are 12 centers, six are now equipped, but there is supposedly no point in visiting one of them. The minister concluded his conversation by saying: "Handle the matter of the gasoline in Andizhon—it's worth giving it a priority."

Just think of this remark. What could serve to describe more clearly the Uzbek public health care system? A question that goes all the way up for the minister himself to decide, once it is decided, turns out to be a matter of gasoline. How much of a priority is it worth in Andizhon?

Yet the minister firmly turned down my request to see the Obstetrical Clinic on Lunacharskiy Road.

#### Arithmetic

What are we concerned about? Defoliation? Increasing infant mortality? Many people fail to see the connection between these problems; they themselves do not want to see a connection, and they will not allow others to make one. Unfortunately, they constitute a single problem. And while Galina Khadzhibayeva was engaged in making a study of the effects of pesticides on maternity, there was an attempt to cover up the nature of her work.

Is it possible to act faithfully while relying on falsehoods and being ignorant of the truth?

Orders were given to introduce 65,000 beds for infants and children over a seven-year period. In all 6,000 beds are being introduced per year. As a result, 11 years would be needed to belatedly complete the task of providing beds for the children. Will the tempo increase? We have heard that even a small amount of money could not be assimilated.

Thus it is possible to reckon if one believes in the figure 6,000. By a process of division and multiplication, one arrives at 11 years. A continuous increase in the number of beds can be found in any handbook. But nowhere is there any statistical information available in terms of square meters. There is no increase in terms of space. The number of beds has been growing for many a year and up to this very day. They have been pushed, crowded, and crammed together as close as can be. Yet they still do not make double-decker beds. If the number of beds has increased three times, that means only one thing: The area allotted to each bed has diminished by a factor of three. And in some places by a factor of four.

There are doctors? Yes, there are. Where a dozen are assigned to the staff, eight are present or accounted for. But five of them are always on leave (all gynecologists are women). Three are on duty. And not one of them knows how to operate.

There are areas in which children receive 7 (seven!) percent of the milk that is essential for them. There is no place to keep cows. All the land is planted with cotton. The children grow up with rickets.

The children die of infections. They "pass through" pneumonia. There is no need of a doctor for a cold.

What does it matter why they die? The reason would not be believed anyway. No, such underhanded practices are not harmless. Fake reporting has reached the point where the norm for "contagious" beds in Uzbekistan is 36 percent (in Estonia, it is 70.4 percent). Wherever the number of contagious patients greatly exceeds the norm, according to reports, there are far few beds planned to accommodate them. And medicines, and everything else. But all the contagious wards are unbelievably overcrowded. Thus in reducing today's accountability, a rise in mortality is being planned for tomorrow.

Who would have supposed it possible to cheat so in the matter of statistical deaths? Medical personnel even have a term for it. They call it a "switch." A three-day-old infant dies, and his death is recorded a year and a half later. Deaths are switched from one chart to another since there is great accountability for an infant's death, whereas for the death of a growing child there is no accountability whatever. Moreover, for the purpose of compiling statistics for the public record, these dead souls are invaluable. The picture as presented is substantially improving, and a pleasing one it is. Morbidity, as reported, is down, below the level of the Baltic region. Indicators of unsanitary conditions, defoliation, water shortage, rotten food services, and a worsening climate, along with morbidity are down. True, the death rate is up. It turns out that the dying are in excellent health. So mortality becomes a state secret. But who is privy to it, except, of course, relatives of the deceased?

The authorities do not wish to upset us. They consider that we will stand for a number of defective boots, but defects in medicine are another matter.

#### Wild and Domestic

Practicing physicians say that the day after defoliation there is an abrupt rise in illnesses. There is an outbreak of hepatitis, two to three times above normal, and three-fourths of the victims are children.

Theoretically minded bureaucrats reply, "What has defoliation got to do with it? Hepatitis is a viral infection—not a poison."

But in the first place, they are coincidental. In the second place, the organism, weakened by the poison, becomes more susceptible to the virus. B. A. Kadyrov, deputy director of the Scientific Research Institute for Pediatrics, stated bluntly that pesticides suppress the immune system.

"Like AIDS?"

"Yes, it is a chemical equivalent of AIDS. It's as simple as that. Has it been studied? I don't know."

I have in my hands a book. It is a collection of scientific monographs, entitled "Effects of Pesticides on Wild Animals." I quote: "These biologically active substances damage vital functions in animals....They act through both the maternal and paternal organism, and they affect not only the next generation but succeeding ones. Impairment of spermatogenesis, reduced fertility, deformities, stillbirths....They are detrimental to practically all groups—mollusks, crustaceans, insects, amphibians, birds, and mammals—and they enter into various ecosystems." That is how pesticides act—like a deadly pestilence.

On the day following defoliation, hundreds of thousands of children, attending elementary and middle schools, turn out to pick the cotton. The children of those in charge of this operation almost never come to the fields. They manage to get excused, and good for them. What consequences lie in store for these organisms as a result of the mutational effects of the pesticide? No one knows. Will these children bear children, and if they do, what will they be like? And what about the doctors and hospitals necessary to accommodate them? Will the charity of the Humanitarian Aid Fund be of assistance?

"The plan at any price!" This is a favorite expression of the apparatchiks. It is a favorite expression of those who launch the plan, but not of those who get a hernia trying to carry it out. The expression for a long time has had an unpleasant connotation in the cotton region. It is as if this abstract "at any price" had actually brought about the deaths of thousands and the loss of health of millions. Such is the battle for the harvest.

It is a good thing, of course, that we have begun to get after the moonshiners and drug traffickers. But the toxic agents they provide poison a relatively small number of sinners. Many are the people who die from defoliation without even having had the opportunity to become sinners.

#### The Closed Obstetrical Center

What about the obstetrical center on Lunacharskiy Road? Apparently, it was poor if they would not even let me have a glimpse of it. The minister gave me this advice "Visit the Sixth Obstetrical Center—it's the only one that can be shown to outsiders." But what is the point if they are willing to show it to one? I have already

seen a poor one, in Kommunisticheskiy Rayon of Tashkent Oblast. That is, an average one for Uzbekistan. To reach a poor one, you need an airplane. But I am left with these impressions: a hundred women in accommodations for 25; 10 of them in a ward for four; dreadful heat—stifling air; 20 infants in a tiny room for four; and next door, in a contagious ward for 30, 110 patients; and no toilet facilities. And a month later—after defoliation brings about an outbreak of hepatitis? No matter, all of this is routine, typical, and dull.

At last I arrived at the site. A park. Peace and quiet. At the threshold of the obstetrical center, I was stopped, and a woman on duty carefully studied my documents. For a quarter of an hour she listened while I reasoned with her, then gave orders for me to be sent to the senior woman on duty. The latter studied my documents (more carefully than the minister had done, it must be said) and listened to me for 20 minutes before saying, "I must call the head physician." For some reason she placed her call from an adjacent room. As I sat there I could hear the phone ring next door. In an hour they led me out, saying, "Come again when the head physician is here."

But I had learned everything already. The obstetrical center has accommodations for 25 and is remarkably designed for both mother and child. It is clean, cozy, and cool. A woman has a single room. In the next room is her child. Not 20 in a row with infections. Marvelous!

But there is one strange thing. The SRIOG director told me that that there was a shortage of 4,000 beds for women in childbirth. Comrade Bakhrayev, the minister, cited a different figure—7,766. And, in fact, according to statistics of the USSR Ministry of Public Health, there is a shortage of 28,000 beds for children with infectious diseases, 45,000 beds for other children, and 14,000 beds for obstetrical patients. That means, 14,000 beds are insufficient, and 14,000 child-bearing women are to be found in corridors or without accommodations whatever? Yet here, in the hospital's Second Obstetrical Center on Lunacharskiy Road, not even half of these marvelous single-occupancy rooms were occupied.

For obvious reasons Comrade Artykov said: "No need to write about this Obstetrical Center. Why upset the population?"

Fine fellow that he is, he understands the situation.

This is a government obstetrical center, I am told. Understandably, a member of the government bears a grave responsibility; so he is provided with a private room and even a telephone. But—for the love of God, forgive me—who in the government gives birth there? Even a glance at the situation, and questions arise: What professions are represented? And what are the names of these people?

### Work Is Required

It was distressing to see how senselessly SRIOG Director Khodzhayeva rummaged about in her papers, understanding nothing and unable to reply to the simplest question.

It was distressing to hear the deputy director for science, Stepanyants, lying openly and straight in the face to everyone, saying, "I am an operating doctor." (She has not been near an operating table in two years, thanks be to God, for the last time had an unfortunate outcome.)

It was distressing to observe Professor Ishchenko, one of the most notable obstetricians in the country and the inventor of new, life-saving methods of operating, cowed into complete submission, although she herself operates continually with brilliance, even dealing with the most difficult cases.

And Galina Khadzhibayeva? Between commission meetings she still manages to work. Not long ago she achieved the final confirmation of the correctness of her allegations when she detected pesticides in the blood and breast milk of working women. The analysis had been accomplished "on the side." She had been forbidden to engage in it by her own SRIOG.

Neither in the USSR Ministry of Public Health nor in the republic are there resources to save the situation. The onslaught of the summer brigades does not contribute much. A shortage of 14,000 beds for child-bearing women means that not in 11 years or in 7 years but that right now 600 beds are needed. Who is to build these and how are they to be built with water pipes and sewers where there are no water pipes and sewers? And as soon as possible—not by the year 2000.

Time has passed in the course of writing this article and preparing it for publication, bringing noteworthy changes. R. Khodzhayeva is no longer RSIOG director, and R. Stepanyants is no longer deputy director for science. Lest we be overcome by the lure of a happy ending, however—maintaining a sober view of the situation—our joy is bittersweet.

It was autumn. Once again defoliants were poured and strewn about in the land of Uzbekistan. Once again students were brought to pick the cotton, and here and there were elementary school children. The plan for cotton next year has been reduced, but has the total area under cotton been reduced? As before, the unbalanced diet has had a ruinous effect upon the health of mothers and children. There is a shortage of protein. A lack of fruits and vegetables among the inhabitants of Central Asia accounts for endemic anemia. And water? And sewage disposal?

As far as personnel are concerned, R. Khodzhayeva is now director of the faculty of obstetrics and gynecology at the Samarkand Pediatrics Institute. She was withdrawn from the ranks of practicing physicians. Now she teaches future doctors. Now mothers and new-born babies of the future are entrusted to her unskillful hands. R. Stepanyants, after serving for a short time as senior scientific associate at a laboratory of pathology and morphology (where they are no longer concerned with the living), now claims a position as head of the department of pathology dealing with pregnancy, childbirth, and post-parturition illnesses. That is the basic department of SROIG, and there they are concerned with the living.

In whose hands does the future lie? And what kind of a future will it be?

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#### TV Documentary Focuses on Crimes of Adylov in Uzbekistan

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7 May 88 p 7

[Discussion conducted by Vl. Arsenyev with Ravshan Otkirov, under the rubric "Meeting Behind the Scenes": "It Happened in Gurumsaray"; first two paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] Central Television is preparing for the premier of a documentary film for television by Uzbek film-makers. It is titled "Chronicle of Time Halted." You can see excerpts of the film in the March issue of the program "Before and After Midnight." The film was shot in Papskiy Rayon of Namangan Oblast and tells about the crimes committed by Akhmadzhan Adylov. But perhaps the most interesting and laudable thing in this work is the attempt to figure out, honestly and frankly, how such phenomena as the Adylov affair were possible in Soviet Uzbekistan. This was not simple to do, even today when Adylov is in jail and much has already become known.

Director Ravshan Otkirov talks with our correspondent about work on the film.

[Otkirov] I listened to recordings of the interrogations of Akhmadzhan Adylov, and an excerpt is used in the film. He says, "I will tell the truth. I will reveal all the connections and interconnections. Only spare my life." It is horrible, bitter, painful! He names dozens of his willing and unwilling helpers. The sum of the bribes, theft, and waste already runs into hundreds of millions of rubles.

Adylov was the favorite of Sharif Rashidov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. I remember those times well. To know him, Adylov, was considered an honor. People were proud to be his friend.

Didn't they know? Didn't they guess? Unfortunately, as a rule they did guess, and they did know who he was, and what he was. Of course we tried to analyze his actions when we were working on the film. We wanted to get to the heart of the mechanism that made him an exceptional person under Rashidov. There was no overpowering idea. There was nothing but a thirst for money and immoderate love of power. All his energy and inventiveness were directed to one thing only, to pump as much money as possible out of the state treasury for himself and his patrons. He did it without the slightest pangs of conscience. Perhaps it was because he knew very well that people like him, like Adylov, were needed.

[Arsenyev] By whom? Imagine for a minute that you and I are talking about Adylov in 1976 or 1977. Do you think at that time we would have talked then about who a person on Adylov's level was close to and why? More likely we would have said that "such people are the pride of sunny Uzbekistan" and "their labor is bolstering the might of the Homeland." Could we have suspected that in addition to nine floors of profitability, as one of the many articles about Adylov in the central press wrote, there was one more floor, underground, with torture chambers? And the people were silent...

[Otkirov] The people were silent mostly because they were afraid. At least that is how it was in Gurumsaray, where Adylov ruled. The sovkhoz workers could go months without being paid their wages. And they have children, many children, who have to be fed. They would go to Adylov, to his underlings, and ask for at least a small plot of land to raise food. It would be given to them like charity, somewhere on the edge of a sovkhoz field. And parallel with this they would begin a criminal case for unauthorized seizure of land against this charity-receiving man. If he protested at all against the fees the criminal "case" would immediately be brought out.

This was the time of the Great Deception. In words it was "everything for the good of human beings," and there were slogans and sayings. But in fact simple people had no rights, they were dependent, almost like slaves.

[Arsenyev] And there were no people who were not afraid?

[Otkirov] There were some. Their fate was a sad one. Some perished in mysterious circumstances. Others disappeared without a trace. Still others were imprisoned on fabricated charges. Some of them, who have returned home from prison, are in the movie. They are probably the bravest people in Gurumsaray. Most people in the settlement preferred to remain silent. In any case, during our shooting various inhabitants of Gurumsaray asked us, looking around, "When are all of Adylov's people going to be removed from the settlement? We are afraid of revenge." I explained as best I could that things take time, that the authorities will get to the bottom of it. They found it hard to believe.

[Arsenyev] One of Adylov's victims says in your film, "We had a revolution in the republic in 1984." But it is no secret that there have not been as many changes in Uzbekistan since 1984 as expected, especially in the moral, spiritual sense.

[Otkirov] The inheritance was too heavy. Even today you can still hear this kind of justification of Rashidov: "He was the father of the nation. He wanted to feed the Uzbek people, and that is why he pumped money out of the state treasury for us, the Uzbeks." This theory still makes an impression on some people, although usually it simply muffles their own feeling of guilt for the report-padding and bribery that reigned under Rashidov. But the people—they were poor, and most of them have remained that way. And this is in Uzbekistan where the land, if it is watered, is so fertile!

On the other hand, it is very difficult to change one's attitude toward life. Do you know what I consider to be the greatest evil done to the Uzbek people by the Rashidov-Adylov phenomena? That moral principles were distorted and disgraced. For example, they would quietly say that someone must be thanked for his services. And give him a bribe. Report-padding and protectionism were not considered bad. But what if someone tried to say something bad just about the kolkhoz chairman, a confirmed bribe-taker? He would immediately be declared anti-Soviet and would be driven into the ground. Could a person have the courage for such an act if he lived in the village where his ancestors had been for centuries, when he had a large family? No, he could not. He did not tell his son to be brave. He told his to be careful. He did not teach him to be honest, because that would doom his son to poverty. He did not even know Russian well enough, or he could have gone away to work on BAM or in the Non-Chernozem region, anywhere just to get away from the bribe-takers and avengers.

And the Adylovs made skillful use of all this. It is difficult, very difficult to change people's psychology. It appears that you need complete frankness in talking with them. Everything must be called by its real name. Then they will believe you.

[Arsenyev] The last thing I would want is for someone to conclude from our discussion of Uzbekistan that it is a land of swindlers and underground millionaires. The people should not bear responsibility for their rulers. We can sympathize with the people. But the main thing is to believe in their strength, which is capable of establishing healthy principles in their life.

[Otkirov] Of course. There are no good and bad peoples. If attention to the human being with his needs and problems becomes the rule, the situation will change amazingly. We also talk about this in one way or another in the film "Chronicle of Halted Time." It is too bad that it is now, not 2-3 years ago.

[Arsenyev] You say 2-3 years ago. That is already after Rashidov. What do you mean, that the film would have been impossible then?

[Otkirov] At that time it would have been. Even last fall when we began shooting it was difficult. For everyone, cameramen Mirzakhid Khamidov and Alisher Usmanov, editor Maryam Khodzhayeva, and others. The former chairwoman of the republic Committee for Television and Radio summoned Gani Rasulov, the chief editor of the television study, and told him, "I am disavowing any responsibility for this film. I guarantee you a party reprimand at the minimum."

The forces of retardation are still great. That makes it more complex and important to carry the cause of perestroika and a genuine renewal of society through to the end. Not only in my native Uzbekistan, but in all our vast, multinational Soviet land.

Boris Yevgenyevich Sviderskiy, senior investigator for especially important cases at the office of the USSR Procurator General and state legal advisor 3rd class, consulted in making the film. He heads the investigative group which is directly involved in investigating Adylov's crimes.

"The initiative in making the film came from Uzbek documentary film-makers. That is understandable: public interest in the Adylov case was exceptionally great. People wanted to understand how this could have happened. Objective information was needed. And our investigative group had it. We provided the television people obvious material which could be made public without harm to the continuing investigation. The most serious and important matters are still ahead. But the film "Chronicle of Halted Time," as I understand it, is only the start of the story of what happened. Incidentally, the Adylov and Rashidov phenomena are of the same order. It is not simple, one patronized the other. They committed crimes together. I will state that Adylov did not fear Rashidov. His influence was enormous. And the ways that were followed in Gurumsaray under him were a mirror reflection of the situation and state of morals in all Uzbekistan.

"We are frequently asked: our group has been working in Uzbekistan for 4 years, when will we finish? The investigation is in fact very extensive. New facts that need verification are becoming known. We are talking about hundreds of people involved in crimes. The investigation is going forward in the Baltic region too, and in Western Siberia and Moscow. Our group has also worked on rehabilitation of innocent people who were convicted on direct orders from Adylov and Rashidov.

"We are conducting the investigation not of the Uzbek people, as certain persons interested in the outcome try to represent, but of a large group of former executives who committed serious crimes for many years. And we

are doing this work with active participation from republic party and Soviet organs, together with the people and in the interests of the Uzbek people. It seems to me that the film speaks quite clearly, exactly, and convincingly about this."

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**Procuracy Roundtable on Impact of Uzbek Crime Scandals**

*18300252b Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
21 Apr 88 p 1*

[Roundtable discussion conducted by G. Filin with employees of the USSR Procuracy and UzSSR Procuracy V. I. Ilyukhin, deputy chief of the main investigative administration of the USSR Procuracy, T. Kh. Gdlyan, head of the USSR Procuracy investigative group, N. V. Ivanov, investigator for especially important cases of the USSR Procuracy, S. A. Salautdinov, procurator of the main investigative administration of the USSR Procuracy, and S. B. Dadadzhanov, investigator for especially important cases of the UzSSR Procuracy, under the rubric "Man, Society, and the Law": "The Roots of Stagnation".]

[Text] [Question] The central press has recently published a series of articles about the work of the investigative group. In some of them we glimpse an attempt to give a kind of "local coloring" to what has happened. And the article "We Encountered a Mafia" in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI begins with the words "the Uzbek case." You can say that, of course, but it is not the main thing. It is also a mistake, however, to talk about the case as something local, entirely national. Because, as you know very well, there was always resistance to the crimes that were committed here in the republic. It was difficult resistance, against a system of repression, persecution, and reprisals. But at the first opportunity the struggle, which participants in the crimes who held power tried to keep secret by every means, became open, public, and large-scale. So whose case is the procuracy investigating; is it really the "Uzbek" case?

[T. Kh. Gdlyan] When we began work in Bukhara in the summer of 1983 and came upon bribe-takers in militia uniforms the party obkom started lamenting. Oh no, they said, this "militia case" is a disgrace for our entire oblast. Then we got to the Bukhara party obkom and its first secretary Karimov. The central organs of the republic told us that it was a "Bukhara case," in no way typical of Uzbekistan. But trails led to Tashkent, and from Tashkent to other places. Now, as we say in the group, they are trying to dress the case up in Uzbek clothing, cover it with an Uzbek cap, and tighten the belt sash.

But the truth, unclothed and unbound, is that the investigation is going further. Both here in Uzbekistan, and in other republics, and Moscow too. Some want very much to stop this expansion, to localize the case and hang a label on it. We in the group feel that any label harms the

investigation, harms our work. So there is not and cannot be any so-called "Uzbek case." We must say honestly, once and for all, that we are investigating a criminal case relating to corrupt executives in Uzbekistan and other regions. The trials even lead to certain employees of the central ministries.

The fight against crime and all negative phenomena and the broadening of glasnost and democracy throughout our country will make it possible to completely figure out the roots of the stagnation and will enable society to look boldly into the future and move forward confidently.

[V. I. Ilyukhin] Criminal charges have been brought against 12 directors of cotton padding factories in cities of the Russian Federation for actions linked with Uzbekistan. Three were given the death penalty. The sentences themselves show how serious the crimes uncovered were. In addition a number of important employees, including from the USSR Ministry of Light Industry, were also charged.

That is if you take a vertical section, but you can take it on the horizontal too. Our investigators were forced to break away from work in Uzbekistan and travel to Azerbaijan. The hearing in the criminal case of the underground factory at the Promgalantereya Association ended there recently. More than 11 million rubles were stolen, and more than 100 people were tried in the case. We thought that we would finish with that, but we had to do a similar job in Sumgait. Very large cases were or are being investigated in Krasnodar, Rostov, Moscow, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, and the Southern Ukraine. Against this background the statement that we have never even thought in terms of a territorial or regional framework becomes more persuasive.

From late 1983 and early 1984 until 1987 780 criminal cases of cotton report-padding were sent to the courts of not just Uzbekistan, but also other Union republics. More than 4,500 people were brought to criminal responsibility. I want to emphasize that we did not make it our purpose to punish everyone. In relation to just over 13,000 people we found it possible to stop the criminal prosecution, because of their insignificant degree of guilt. Because they were drawn into criminal activity and the whole situation that had come about in the republic. For alongside criminal acts in raising, bringing in, and processing cotton there was also investigation of crimes in other spheres. Among others, we investigated the so-called "Malik" case. This was a knitted goods association where 17 million rubles were stolen. Work on the latest episodes of this criminal activity is just being completed.

During the investigation of report-padding cases hundreds of associates of internal affairs organs, including a former minister, three deputies, and eight heads of oblast and city internal affairs administrations were brought to

criminal accountability. Dozens of employees of procuracy and court organs were censured. It was not accidental that I mentioned the smooth-operating mechanicsm of crime. In a number of cases it also engulfed the criminal law organs.

[Question] The USSR Procuracy investigative group has representatives of other Union republics, including Uzbekistan. What can you say about this?

[N. V. Ivanov] Our group because of its size could not handle the volume of work that was required. A decision was adopted to add investigators from Uzbekistan to the group. Sakidzhan Bakidzhanovich Dadadzhanov, who is present here, is one of them, an investigator for especially important cases at the republic procuracy.

Needless to say, the selection was made carefully. And we have to say that the Uzbek investigators proved to be on the level of contemporary demands in terms of work and professional qualities.

The attitude is important here too. You have to drink water from irrigation canals contaminated with chemicals, work in cotton fields under the blazing sun, where only miserable bits and pieces are left, receive a few kopecks for them, and then watch as the wheeler-dealers get rich. Then you will understand what kind of case we are investigating. The Uzbek investigators know this.

[V. I. Ilyukhin] The material loss which our state suffered from padding cotton reports has been set at 4.5 billion rubles. That is about equal to the amount allocated to maintain the administrative apparatus for the entire country for the five-year plan. That is how enormous the damage is.

More than 1 billion was stolen and illegally spent in the form of bonuses and supplementary wages and salaries. All of this money went into the pockets of crooks and dishonest people. The fact that private individuals have huge sums of money gotten by non-labor means has grave consequences. They cannot be left alone and allowed to get going again. After all, that money was used to create the atmosphere in which the solutions to many problems were dependent on bribes. I refer to questions of planning, personnel transfers, and management and distribution in the social-domestic sphere. I am not afraid to say that many working people in the republic lost their faith in social justice. In this year alone we have already confiscated 8 million rubles from secret hiding places. I will mention the impressions of group members after traveling to those places where the money is being confiscated. It was a grim impression. With this monstrous greed and hoarding in the background they saw there terrible schools in which it would be frightening to study for fear they would collapse and pathetic housing for regular kolkhoz members. Yet how much housing could have built with these millions, how many kindergartens and schools!

[S. B. Dadadzhanov] If someone says that the uncovering of crimes in Uzbekistan disgraces our republic I would ask whose voice is saying this. Is it those who held high leadership positions and blathered about the flourishing of the people? And under cover of this allowed the working people to be persecuted with impunity, taken advantage of, allowed others to get rich from their labor. And got their share from this.

Investigating the actions of such leaders and bringing them to trial is no humiliation; it is a necessary condition for truly elevating the working man.

[Question] A few days ago a decree of the CPSU Central Committee was published which essentially called for the mobilization of all society's efforts to root out crime and legal offenses. In your work in the republic do you feel this kind of real help from society?

[T. Kh. Gdlyan] Without public support and help we would not have been able to carry a single investigation through to the end and send the case to trial. Of course, those who are trembling for their fate understand this very well, and are trying to counter the group by every means. That is why they are trying to surround us with a wall of fear and depict us as some kind of wild, heartless monsters. But that is not the case at all. We have already cited the figure here, more than 13,000 people against whom criminal charges have been dropped.

It is the opinion of our group that in the situation that has come about here the law cannot be applied in a formalistic way, which would lead to mass punitive measures. We are working to eliminate the roots of criminal activity, to cleanse and normalize, not cut people down. We must bring to accountability first of all the organizers and active participants in crime, the ones who made millions through fear and coercion, at the expense of unhappy people. And hid it away in secret places.

[S. A. Salautdinov] In a number of circumstances the law permits charges not to be brought against people who have kept stolen valuables. They did not enrich themselves by criminal means, but only kept valuables, and then voluntarily turned them over. As a rule these are simply frightened people who themselves are not living particularly well and have been forced to keep things given to them.

There has already been talk here of valuables worth millions of rubles that the group has confiscated. What are these valuables? They are not houses, furniture, or everyday goods. Not at all. They are mostly gold coins from tsarist times, diamond jewelry, bonds, and money.

Those who voluntarily turn in things acquired dishonestly and who give sincere testimony about the details of crimes that they know are being very helpful to the

investigation, and that means to the state. The money we confiscate is turned in to the State Bank. That which was stolen from the people is returned to the people.

[S. B. Dadadzhanov] The support of officials and Soviet and party workers is also very important. Unfortunately, we do not always enjoy it. In Bukhara Oblast the people who helped us, gave testimony in the investigation, and then had their cases dropped on legal grounds were subjected to persecution. On various pretexts they were discharged from work, not given other jobs, and expelled from the party. And by contrast, those who did not give testimony or later renounced their testimony were promoted at work. I understand this as an attempt at the former approach to selection of personnel, by the principle of personal loyalty.

[Question] Former first secretary of the Bukhara Oblast party committee Karimov was sentenced to the supreme penalty. But he was pardoned and had his death sentence commuted, as an exception, to 20 years incarceration.

[T. Kh. Gdlyan] We in the procuracy favored not carrying out the sentence. Karimov deserved to be shot 10 times. But even he, omnipotent in Bukhara, was just a cog in the machine linked with Tashkent and Moscow. He cried to the USSR Supreme Court about this: I repent, I told everything honestly, I am guilty, but why am I the only one whose sentence is being carried out? We should all be sentenced together, and then the extent of my guilt will be clearer. Karimov, let me repeat, committed very grave crimes, above all crimes against the party, and deserves execution. But is this wise? A living witness is better than an executed convict. Let him expose those worthless people who still occupy their posts; they are more dangerous than those who are already serving their sentences. Let him help disarm those primarily responsible for pushing him into these crimes.

[Question] We know that the final decision in any criminal case is made by the court. It decides if the person is guilty or not. And if he is guilty, to what degree. All the same, can you tell us now what former secretary of the Central Committee of the republic Communist Party Abdullayeva is accused of?

[N. V. Ivanov] Considering that the court investigation is underway, the only possible answer to that question is that she has been arrested and is being kept under guard. Abdullayeva was indicted for bribery, like a number of other republic executives who have been charged in this case. She is now telling how and under what circumstances this happened.

[Question] There have been a large number of publications and broadcasts about Adylov, director of the Pap Agroindustrial Association. The "hero" himself and his "case" have been surrounded with unbelievable fabrications and legends. Tell us in more detail exactly what Adylov was indicted for.

[V. I. Ilyukhin] In the Adylov case we must study the economic activity of this agroindustrial association over several years. Study it with various expert examiners, which takes months and years. But it was precisely from this economic activity that Adylov extracted the large sums of money he used to maintain his personal armed guard and to buy off necessary people. More than 60 criminal cases have already been separated out from the primary case and more than 75 persons have already been convicted. They were, speaking hypothetically, Adylov's co-participants in criminal economic activities, theft, and the like. We are investigating a number of instances in which Adylov and his henchmen abused citizens and caused physical harm. A number of cases with such fact patterns have already been turned over to the court. We have identified a few instances where, under Adylov's influence and to our shame, to the shame of procuracy workers, criminal cases were deliberately falsified and people were brought to accountability in them. The procuracy workers responsible for this have now been charged too.

[N. V. Ivanov] It was stated recently on television, an all-Union broadcast, that Adylov was the second most powerful man in the republic after Rashidov. When I hear a political mistake, I ask who does it serve? Rashidov is gone. Adylov is under investigation. He is a criminal, they say, and let him answer for everything that happened. But doesn't this affect the other holders of executive positions, you see? That is the danger of such an evaluation. We should not make Adylov a "legend," or ascribe more importance to him than he deserves. The levers of power were in other hands.

[Question] This will be a hard question to answer, but still we will ask it. Do you think that the activity of your group in Uzbekistan is coming to an end, or is there still a great deal more ahead of you?

[S. B. Dadadzhanov] I am working in my native land. And like everyone in Uzbekistan, I have an interest in seeing that all the roots of the crimes committed are thoroughly and deeply eradicated. I want all the organizers of these crimes to receive their deserved criminal penalties. Yes, most of them have been brought to accountability. But not all.

[N. V. Ivanov] Circumstances will show when the group finishes its work in the republic. But no matter how much time is required, our entire group has decided that we will leave behind a concluding article published in PRAVDA VOSTOKA. We think that the traces of our work and our contribution to normalizing the situation in the republic will be well-remembered by the people for a long time. And those from other republics who worked here will leave with a good memory of Uzbekistan.

**Georgian Official Discusses Public Opinion Poll  
on Restructuring**

18300269 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian  
20 Apr 88 p 1

[Interview with Revaz Gachechiladze, deputy director of the Center for the Study of Public Opinion at the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, by Merab Nikoladze, ZARYA VOSTOKA correspondent: "The Subject of Discussion Was Prompted by the Reader. How Is Restructuring Going? The Opinion of the Public and the Opinion of Managers"; time and place not specified; first paragraph is ZARYA VOSTOKA]

[Text] In the editorial mail there are increasingly more letters in which the readers discuss how restructuring is going in their labor collectives, in the cities and rayons of the republic, raise problems connected with the unwillingness or the inability of various officials to change their style of work, to be restructured in the spirit of democratism and glasnost. In many letters which have been received in the editorial offices after the 19th Plenum of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, we find the following question: "Is it not possible to tell in greater detail about the results of the investigation that was conducted by the Center for the Study of Public Opinion at the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee on the eve of the plenum?" With this question, the correspondent of ZARYA VOSTOKA, Merab Nikoladze, turned to the deputy director of the center, Revaz Gachechiladze.

[Question] Revaz Giviевич! Our readers, obviously, were interested in the data cited at the plenum in the concluding speech of the first secretary of the republic Communist Party Central Committee, D. Patiashvili. Hence—also the interest in the investigation as a whole. As far as I know, it was a large-scale investigation and encompassed many regions of the republic?

[Answer] The survey was conducted in Tbilisi, Abkhazia, Adzhariya, South Ossetia, Kutaisi, Zugdidi, Gori, Poti, as well as in Chokhataurskiy, Bogdanovskiy, Bolnisskiy, Karelskiy, Zestafonskiy and a number of other rayons. The questionnaire was answered by 2,642 respondents. Two types of questionnaires were prepared: For managers—secretaries of oblast, city and rayon party committees, executives of Soviet organs, ministries, and departments; for the representatives of the public—communists and comrades without party affiliation.

[Question] The representatives of the public—a sufficiently broad understanding?

[Answer] One can say more concretely. Of the 2,292 persons who answered the questions of the second questionnaire, workers accounted for 21.9 percent, kolkhoz workers and sovkhoz workers—7.7 percent, engineering

and technical workers—16 percent, and other white collar workers, including representatives of the intelligentsia and economic workers—41.4 percent.

We set ourselves the goal of throwing light on the most urgent tasks of restructuring in the republic through public opinion, to assess the degree of changes that are going on, to measure the positions of the "allies" and "opponents" of restructuring, to find out the opinion of the managers and the public about the work of the party organizations, its conformity to the requirements of restructuring, etc.

[Question] If we compare the two points of view—i.e., the data obtained after the processing of the two types of questionnaires—do the opinions diverge or coincide?

[Answer] It depends. The respondents were invited, for example, to name the problems of political, social and economic life which must be solved first of all. (We are talking about our republic). The public put in first place the problem of strengthening socialist legality, further—the struggle with bureaucratism, the transfer of all links of the economy to the principles of full cost accounting and self-financing, and the priority development of the social sphere. The problems of a principled cadre policy proved to be in the following places. Then come the all-round development of democracy, consideration of public opinion, and respect for the dignity of the individual. From 20 to 30 percent of those surveyed consider these problems as important. Among them there are none that are clearly dominating. In the answers of the managers, cadre problems (59 percent) are in first place. As the second most important task, they put a decisive turn in science and the acceleration of scientific-technical progress (58 percent). The development of cost accounting is in third place. In fourth place is the strengthening of socialist legality. These problems dominate in the answers of the managers.

[Question] Once I also had to answer a questionnaire, and I know how difficult it is to choose from a whole set of proposed problems the most important ones, to line them up, as if in a table of ranks, in decreasing order of seriousness, if we can put it that way. And nevertheless, the result you obtained surprised me: Is cost accounting really several orders higher than, let us say, the consistent realization of the principles of social justice? And are the problems of the development of science really capable of pressing—into last place—the establishment of high moral values in society?

[Answer] Yes, in a number of the problems not of paramount importance, even for the public, there proved to be problems of the encouragement of personal initiative, the expansion of glasnost, social justice, and the affirmation of high moral values. And the managers—which is also very characteristic—put the necessity of the broadening of criticism and self-criticism only in last place. These results give cause for serious reflections and compel us to turn our attention precisely to these sectors

of work—is everything here as well as we sometimes try to imagine? Whether we like it or not, but there is a contradiction present: The party is giving priority to the development of the processes of democratization and glasnost, but public opinion—if, of course, one can judge on the basis of the results of this research—assigns a comparatively modest place to it. Why? We must find the answer to this question. This is why we conducted the investigation, to find out more than we know, in order to develop a scientific program of action on a scientific basis.

[Question] You also elucidated the opinions of people about the circumstances that hinder restructuring! Here in the main there is surprising unanimity?

[Answer] Yes, both the representatives of the public and the managers named among the basic "hindrances" the force of the habit of working in the old way; the excessiveness of effort required by restructuring; the aim of many that others are obligated to restructure; the absence of the necessary knowledge and competence for successful work at the level of today's expectations. The managers themselves acknowledged that the incompetence and lack of organization of those who head labor collectives, as well as an incorrect personnel policy, are a great hindrance.

Interesting, in my view, are the results of the answer to the question: "What does your collective have more of—allies or opponents of restructuring?" 59.2 percent of the representatives of the public think that there are more allies; 7.8 percent—more opponents; 16.4 percent note that their number is about equal; every seventh of those surveyed found it difficult to answer.

Almost every third respondent from among the representatives of the public thinks that, for the time being, the positions of those are still strong in whose interest it is to leave everything as before, to hold back the speed of changes. The managers have a different view—only 18 percent of them assert that the positions of the opponents of restructuring are strong, and 63 percent are not in agreement with this.

[Question] Revaz Giviевич! It is well known what a great role and responsibility rests today on the primary party organizations. It is being said openly that they still have not become real generators of the ideas of restructuring in their collectives, its basic moving force. What did the survey show?

[Answer] The respondents assessed the work of the primary organizations extremely critically. Almost half of all those responding to the questionnaire—we are speaking of the representatives of the public now—believe that the work of the party organizations either does not at all correspond to the requirements of restructuring, or that only the first changes have begun to show in it. 10.4 percent of the respondents assert that only

discussions about restructuring take place in the party organization. In the opinion of 5.1 percent, only the appearance of changes is being created in the party organizations.

The managers assessed the work of their oblast (city, rayon) party organization. Naturally, the answers are averaged, they do not take into account that these or those party committees may work better or worse, but the answers are rather critical. 42 percent of the respondents believe that the work of the oblast (city or rayon) party organization does not at all correspond to the requirements of restructuring and only 12 percent of the respondents noted that their party organization fully succeeded in restructuring their work in conformity with the new requirements.

As far as the activity of the republic party organization is concerned, the assessments, as you remember, were cited at the plenum of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee. 17 percent of the representatives of the public and 28 percent of the managers are fully satisfied with how the restructuring is going and how democratization and glasnost are expanding. I am afraid that conformism had an effect on the answers of the managers to some degree. At the plenum the opinion of those surveyed about the restructuring of the work of the republic's mass media was also reported. We hope that the results of the investigation that was conducted will, above all, help the managers to look more thoroughly at the problems that now are among the paramount ones; to bring their view of these problems into correlation with the opinion of the public; to correct, perhaps, their own point of view, and even their position in this or that question, and, in the final analysis, will prompt what directions in their work to select as the decisive ones and to which sectors to turn their attention first of all.

#### FROM THE EDITORS

As was noted in the editorial of the newspaper PRAVDA "The Principles of Restructuring: The Revolutionary Nature of Thinking and Actions", "during the past 3 years we have become different people. We have raised up our heads, we have straightened up, we are honestly facing facts and we are openly and aloud talking about what is painful, together we search for methods to solve the problems that have accumulated for decades." The study of public opinion is one of the possibilities of facing difficulties openly.

A great deal of work has been done by the Center for the Study of Public Opinion at the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee. We are now talking about one concrete investigation, although one could name dozens of surveys that were organized by the workers of the

center; surveys, without a doubt, which were interesting and at times yielded unprompted and, therefore, possibly, such valuable results.

For a sensible view, the investigation produces very much. The simple comparison of figures, the collision of the opinions of the representatives of the public and the managers—this is food for reflections, a stimulus for the adoption of concrete decisions, this is the basis for intelligent and purposeful action.

Unfortunately, we still are not able, as we should, to utilize the results of the work of the sociologists; at times we see in it some kind of pastime of scholarly minds. But to no purpose. If party work is, above all, work with people, and not with figures and papers, then let us get to know these people better, penetrate into the world of their ideas and feelings, appraisals and inclinations, and not to reject the assistance offered.

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